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Petoskey at the Turn of the Century

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IN THE SUMMER OF 1888, MY PARENTS RENTED A SMALL summer cottage on the outskirts of Petoskey on the southern shore of Little Traverse Bay. This little town had possibly five hundred inhabitants in winter.

All the houses were of wood. The town was laid out on four terraces that rose beside the almost perfect oval of the bay. This body of water, five miles wide and nine miles long, widened where it met Lake Michigan to more than fifteen miles. Its waters of a deeper blue than the sky above were flecked with whitecaps stirred by the almost constant west wind.

In those days the resorts of Bay View, a mile to the east, and We-que-ton-sing and Harbor Point, on the opposite shore, were all small and new. But Harbor Springs, a little village, also across the Bay was old. In 1695 French priests who had come to the New World with Marquette established a mission there and years later Indian squaws built a little church. Both were standing sixty years ago and still may be.

Except for these cottage clusters, the forest, as yet untouched by fire, of every shade of green in summer and of an unearthly glory in the autumn, was everywhere.

We stayed in the cottage from late July until October. Thus, for the first time in our lives, we three, William, Ellen, and I, knew what it was to play on the rocky shore of the bay; to watch the waves rush in and curl over into whitecaps at our feet; to wander through groves of fragrant fir trees, white birch, wild cherry, or other hardwoods; above all, to breathe the life-giving air, and finally to drop off into dreamless sleep.

As the center of town was quite a distance from the cottage, it became an event to go there with our mother or grandmother. The way was over sidewalks made of boards three feet by six inches or so, laid after the manner of railroad ties but much closer, nearly touching. Sometimes a board or two would be missing, and, as these were never replaced, we became so expert that even on dark nights we never stepped into a hole. The sidewalks uptown were of wooden planks. They were built high above the street. I have seen pictures of Alaskan towns with just such walks.

It was in Petoskey proper that I saw and met my first Indian: Chief Petoskey, or Petasoga, in the Ottawa language; it was for his family that the town was named. He had a store full to overflowing of the handicrafts of his tribe: baskets, of all shapes and sizes, woven of fine wooden strips, colored by dyes made in Indian homes, of fragrant sweetgrass or birch bark, with designs in dyed porcupine quills; moccasins of softest leathers, decorated with beadwork, for big and little feet; birch bark canoes, some a foot long, some a few inches; bows and arrows. These articles stay in my mind; there may have been others.

The chief spoke fairly good English; so, at least my mother said. I only remember his dark skin, hooked nose, and deepset eyes. I marveled that an Indian chief would wear the same type of clothes my father did, when I had heard so differently back in Cincinnati!

Next to our cottage was the Bay Shore House, a rambling two-and-a-half frame building, run by a white-haired couple. The husband had a beard like Santa Claus. His whole mission in life, it seemed to me, was to create the feeling that his hotel was really home to all who came to stay there. My sister and I used to perch on stools in the big kitchen and watch the two waitresses, Bertha Petoskey, daughter of the chief, and Rose Quinlan, an Irish girl, put icing on the four-and-five-layer cakes that the wife had baked in the oven of the wood-burning stove. Rose talked all the time. Bertha said scarcely a word but smiled shyly at us. She wore her shining black hair in a thick braid, her eyes were black and twinkling, her skin was like burnished copper.

That fall before we left Petoskey, my father, mother, and grandmother bought four fifty-foot lots a square farther down the street; two on a hill and two on the opposite or level side facing the bay.

The corner lot on the hill had a thick grove of second-growth timber at the foot. During the next spring a carpenter engaged by father erected on the inner-hill lot a story-and-a-half cottage of gray elm, put together with wire nails.

That year we went up earlier. The train ride was long, hot, and cindery. Ellen howled most of the time and William, little more than a baby, was carsick. As usual, there were delays. It was late at night when we stumbled into the station at Petoskey. The host of the Bay Shore House was there to meet us. He took my sleeping brother from the nurse's arms. I can still see William's yellow hair mingling with the silvery locks of that great and good man as he escorted us all to the carriage. We spent the night at the Bay Shore House, as we had done the year before. Both times I was so tired that I never remembered being put to bed. Two impressions alone registered: the first, of a long bench beside the stairs holding kerosene lamps with handled bowls, one for each bedroom; and the second, of waking in the morning to see the brilliant sunlight of that northern country.

This year we went to our own cottage. Now, Ellen, William, and I were turned loose. All our old clothes of the previous winter (it was cool and sometimes cold except for a week or two in July) that were wearable, together with blankets, comforters, and other articles of baggage, Mother had packed in a huge Saratoga trunk and brought with us. Our traveling clothes were taken off and put away, to wear home I suppose, and we appeared in play garments. The nurse became cook, washwoman, maid-of-all-work; Father went back to Cincinnati; Mother rested; and our grandmother did the marketing and mending. There was plenty of both. We were always on the beach—a stone's throw from the cottage—or in the grove, or in the backyard which faced another road.

As I was the oldest, I went first on all our treks, plump little Ellen next, and then William, so small that nothing but his scarlet-capped head showed above the weeds. We never sat still long except for a very good reason. One day that summer there was one of those reasons. I was sitting with my legs dangling over a cut above the side road when I heard an unearthly screeching accompanied by shouts in a strange tongue. Something and somebody, as yet unseen, was coming toward me along that rutted, sandy road. I called

William and Ellen, and our eyes goggled as a cart with wide wheels cut from a log, drawn by a yoke of oxen, came over the rise and started down the steep part. Beside the cart, holding fast to a clumsy brake lever, walked, or rather trotted, an Indian. He waved to us and grinned. I do not think we returned his salute. We were petrified. He lived, probably, miles back in the woods, and in the two or three years that we saw him, he never passed our place on his way home, nor did we ever know what was in that cart.

West of our property, on the bay side, was an Indian church with a little graveyard beside it. Wooden rings, wrapped with faded paper flowers, hung on the wooden crosses at the head of each grave. On the uprights of the crosses the names of the dead were rudely carved. On All Saints' Day fresh wreaths were placed on the graves by surviving relatives.

Mass was sung twice a month. The white priest from Harbor Springs drove over in a buggy, ringing a bell to call his congregation together. The Indians came in sailboats, in farm wagons with wide wheels, and on foot.

Maggie Morris, the girl we brought with us, was a devout Catholic, only a few years over from Ireland and extremely shy. The first Saturday that we were in our own cottage Maggie screwed up courage to say to Mother, "Mis Judkins, shure, an' w'ativer will I do about Mass tomorrow? I tould th' Father I wud go faithful." Mother had heard of the service at the Indian church. As it happened, there was to be one the next day, so she persuaded Maggie to go to Mass with the Indians. The Mass was in Latin and the sermon in Ottawa but our Irish lass came back happy, although she hadn't understood a word. Later, my grandmother found the Catholic church uptown for her.

As we grew older we found playmates among the children of the neighborhood; principally John and Ida Deverney and Lena Keewee, full-blooded Ottawas. The Deverneys lived in a ramshackle house next to the Indian church. John, the father, was fat and lazy. His wife was tall, thin and forever working. For all her efforts, nothing seemed cleaned up. There were dogs, cats, chickens, and children in the yard. In the house were more children, John Deverney, and a tribesman or two. Mrs. Deverney neither understood nor spoke a word of English and all conversation with her had to be by sign

language or with her husband or one of the many youngsters as interpreter.

Lena Keewee lived with her grandmother a mile or so down the bay, in a neat little house with curtains at the windows and a few flowers before the door. Lena's grandmother must have been a person of importance in the Ottawa tribe for sooner or later every one of them showed up there.

The Spangenburgs, a German family, lived just below us. They ran a butcher shop in town and it was there I saw my first woman butcher; Frau Christina Spangenburg was as skillful as a man with knife, meatsaw, or cleaver. Maximillian Spangenburg was the first to cut and sell porkchops, three pounds for twenty-five cents. My grandmother, inquisitive and acquisitive, came marching back to the cottage one day. She slapped a bundle of meat down on the kitchen table. "There," she said, "here is something that will stick to those wild Indians' ribs and will taste mighty, mighty, good too."

The Spangenburg boys and our brother chummed together and my sister went down to see the girls. One day they went inside a chicken coop. In spite of our grandmother's protests that "Lice do not leave the chickens," Ellen spent a hectic hour under the wild cherry tree in the backyard while Mother literally went over every hair on Ellen's head after stripping her of clothing and washing the body of the shrieking child with coal oil. Needless to say, no unwelcome visitor had a shadow of a chance.

These friendships did not last, for as the Spangenburg children grew they were pressed into service in the expanding butcher shop or made to care for the house and the younger *kinder*.

Petoskey was in its thirty-sixth year when my brother, sister, and I discovered Mrs. Thomas Kirby. She was the patron saint of our small section of Michigan. Age means nothing to children; she might have been thirty or sixty years old. A Canadian from Ontario, she was tall and thin, her skin was weather-beaten, her eyes a deep blue, her hair, when a strand slipped from under her sunbonnet, was a glorious Titian red. She wore a shapeless, trailing Mother Hubbard, runover shoes, and the sunbonnet.

Her husband, Thomas, was a carpenter by trade and a dreamer by nature. He would talk for hours on the wonders and opportunities of the Upper Peninsula, but he rarely went there. He did build a

good two-story frame house, a barn, shed, and chicken coops. Then one winter and spring he and his two grown sons constructed a dock on the ice; a structure that was to be known as Kirby's Dock; that was to draw all the steamers from the regular city dock and was to make our part of the town the metropolitan hub. It never did. An occasional steamer did moor there, but the lumber and tanbark schooners, all sail, were his customers. Mr. Kirby didn't keep the dock in repair and repeated buffetings by the storms in autumn and the ice in winter gradually tore at it. We children played happily in the stone cribs and on the sloping roadway until late one autumn a great storm tore up the wooden superstructure and leveled the stone-filled cribs.

Mrs. Kirby, Mother Hubbard flapping about her lean upright figure, would trail out from her kitchen, carrying a pan of chicken feed. A procession followed her: first, a horse and colt, big dogs and little dogs, cats and kittens, and a flock of chickens. Of course, all but the chickens were disappointed, for, waving her long arms, she chased the four-footed animals away.

Mrs. Kirby made good bread and many times my grandmother would drop in for a cup of tea, a dish of gossip, and a loaf of bread; until one day as she walked into the kitchen while Mrs. Kirby was out in the yard, she saw a cat on the table, cuddled up to a loaf of fresh bread. After that the Judkinses went without the Kirby's staff of life.

One night while I was alone in the cottage with the children, my sister stepped on a rusty nail and received a nasty wound. I sent William for Mrs. Kirby while I poulticed Ellen's foot with warm oatmeal. She came and took command. She sent me running for Dr. Henry Caulkins (his office was nearly a mile away) while she comforted the frightened William and screaming Ellen. The doctor brought me back in his buggy. He and Mrs. Kirby complimented me on my surgical skill.

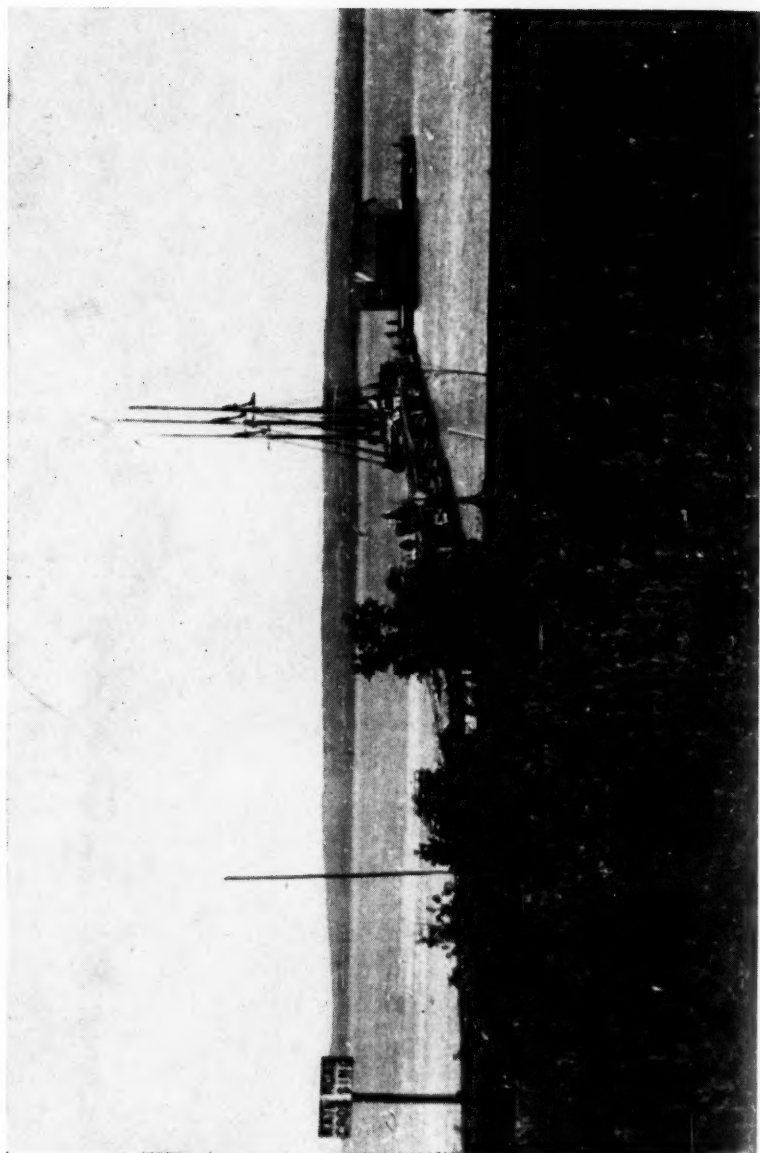
The Kirby family was a large one; all grown but the youngest, Harold. He was dubbed Bricktop, Carrots, or Red, because of his fiery hair. He was my brother's age and his boon companion. One beautiful morning, Ellen, William, and Harold—"Hy-yohld," his mother called him—pooled their cash, rented a rowboat, and laid in supplies for a picnic at the head of the bay, five miles away. All



LAKE STREET LOOKING WEST FROM HOWARD STREET,
PETOSKEY, 1902



DOCK, MIDWAY AND HARBOR AT PETOSKEY, 1902



SCHOONER ROUSE SIMMONDS, KIRBY'S DOCK, PETOSKEY, 1897

went well. I was on the beach to see them off. A bag of potatoes Harold had taken from his mother's shed was dumped aboard; the oars were manned, I was told to shove hard. The adventurers had just become water borne when on the railroad track above us Mrs. Kirby appeared. She shouted, "Hy-yohld, you took my potatoes!" "No, Ma, I didn't," Harold lied, and bent to his oars. "Ma" had other plans for her son that morning, such as chopping kindling and drawing water. When the party returned that afternoon they found a calm Mrs. Kirby sitting on a rock, a mariner's telescope across her knees.

"I watched ye through your grandfather's telescope. I saw ye take the potatoes out of the boat and bake 'em in the hot coals of your fire. Hy-yohld, go up to the house; there's a switch waitin' for ye and the wood ye shoul'da cut this mornin'. Willie, you two take the boat back and then ye both go home." Needless, to say, we all obeyed those orders.

A great and good woman was Mrs. Kirby. I do not know what has become of her or her family, but we of that tight little community will never forget her.

Among the sailing ships that cast their moorings on Kirby's Dock were two that I remember best. One carried tanbark and was manned by a Swedish crew: the captain, a giant of a man; his husky, big-boned wife, who was the cook; and two equally hefty deck hands.

I'll never forget the odor of the tanbark nor the appetizing aroma that came from the big kettle on the stove with its fence to keep the utensils from sliding to the floor in rough weather. The other ship was the *Rouse Simmonds*, later to be known as the "Christmas Tree schooner." She carried a light load of logs this time and after much tacking drew slowly to her landing place. She stayed several days but we never had an opportunity to go on board.

Steam was getting the upper hand and the days of the sailing vessels were numbered. However, to me there is no sight so majestic or so graceful as a two- or three-masted schooner tacking back and forth in the blue distance of Little Traverse Bay and finally silently slipping into the nearer view.

As we grew older, Mother stayed home until August and sent the caravan—my grandmother, brother, sister, maid, and a multitude of

baggage—to Petoskey early in June in my care. I was fourteen the first time this happened.

My bosom friend was a girl who was the daughter of a doctor from Louisville, Kentucky. She was my own age and her name was Bessie, the fifth of Dr. Griffith's six daughters. Bessie was fat and jolly and as soon as either of us was permitted to venture into the Cincinnati or Louisville Pullman on the night of our departure from Cincinnati, at which point the Louisville cars were coupled to our train, we met to talk and to giggle over all that had happened during the months that had separated us.

This particular evening Bessie said: "Father and Mother and some of the girls are going to eat supper in the diner. I couldn't eat a bite. I'm full of nectar sodas. I drank seven nectar sodas just before we left, one for each week that we will be gone. I had thirty-five cents and I spent all of it." Before our giggling fit at this fantastic piece of news was over our Irish nursegirl and the Griffith's Mammy appeared to whisk us off to bed.

Dr. Griffith's budget was much larger than father's so that family—the doctor, his wife, six daughters, and Mammy—stayed at a hotel while we went to our cottage. Imagine Bessie's surprise and disgust when late in the afternoon we came upon a modern corner drug-store with a gleaming soda fountain. "And to think I drank all my soda at once; now I may not get any more until we go home," she wailed.

The pharmacist and proprietor of this wonderful place and his son dispensed the sodas. The son was good looking, a good talker, and past the awkward age. Perhaps that was one reason why the younger resorters flocked about his counter. The townspeople were usually conspicuous by their absence. For them life was too absorbing for such frivolities. However, the store flourished for many years.

As city children, we were never allowed a dog. In Petoskey it was different. We never owned one, but borrowed them from the Indians. The day after we opened the cottage William would go down to see the Deverneys. Indian dogs have always been ill-kept, half-starved creatures, and the various curs of the Deverneys were no exception. Presently, my brother would appear with a pup, full of fleas, smelling to high heaven of old bones or dead, very dead, fish, and ravenous with hunger. Once Ellen went with William, and, by

stopping at the home of a Canadian lumberman who lived in the same locality, acquired three mongrel hounds. We christened them English, Canada, and Dutch.

No one ever consulted by grandmother about our pets. She was Irish and delightfully irresponsible. At times she seemed no older than we were. As for me, I was enchanted, so the dogs stayed; stayed until we three children had been sent home for school and our mother and grandmother were alone. They never left before the middle or latter part of October.

Naturally we fed our animals well, and they forgot about their rightful owners until the cottage was closed. Mother would have sent them back; she disliked dogs, but they adored her. She wouldn't feed them but my grandmother slipped them scraps on the sly.

Michigan became for us a land of enchantment. We used to say: "Ohio means school; Michigan, freedom and happiness." Each summer strengthened our friendship with the Ottawas. They taught us how to make bows and arrows that would shoot; how to strip the bark from the white birches (we girls carried knives too); where the wintergreen with its shiny peppery-tasting leaves and waxen flowers grew; how to know the hazel bushes with their delicious nuts; how to find hidden patches of wild huckleberries, gooseberries, and red raspberries. We went with them to the edge of the spooky, bottomless pit, a sinkhole in the only marsh thereabouts; and to the council ground, an open meadow in the forest with a towering oak in the center. The ancestors of these young Ottawas had sat in council there before the white man came.

Mother protested that Ellen went too often to the Deverney's to play with Ida. However, one day when Ellen brought home a beautiful Indian basket, a present from Mrs. Deverney, because as her daughter translated, "This for you, you play good with Idy," Mother said privately to my grandmother, "I was mistaken."

The only time any of these young Ottawas came to our house was on an occasion when a barking dog chased Lena and Ida as they were coming back from a grocery store several squares from our cottage. Those two, loaded down with bundles, came tearing madly up to our back porch. Lena, in the lead, was screaming, "Idy, bring the sugaar! Bring the sug-a-a-r!"

Young John Deverney was my brother's slave. A true Indian, he never said much but he was more devoted than the current pooch. William was a doctor by instinct; he liked to make concoctions. One of these was a mess he called "Judkins' Mixture"; mullein, yarrow, catnip, clover leaves, and others that I have forgotten, dried and ground to a powder. William and three of his cronies—Harold Kirby, son of the Canadian lumberman, Raymond Lee from Cincinnati, and, of course, John Deverney—shut themselves up in a shack built into the side of a hill so we girls couldn't bother them, put this stuff into corncob pipes and smoked. One day Ray Lee's sister, Ellen, and I hung over Kirby's fence and waited. But not for long. Ray and William, pale and wobbly, pushed open the door and almost fell out; then Harold, also in bad shape; and, after a long time, came the Ottawa unaffected in any way.

One summer we found a new family of Indians living nearly a mile from us on the Charlevoix Pike, a road connecting Petoskey with Charlevoix, eighteen miles away. They were Chippewas from the Upper Peninsula. The grandfather, a dried-up, little man with some French blood in his veins; his wife, a big fine looking full-blooded Chippewa; and a boy, their grandson, John Pennock. John was a little older than William, Harold Kirby, or John Deverney. He was full of life and had a fiery temper. The quickest way to get him mad was to yell, "Hey, Chippewa John!", then run hard and fast.

Like all Indian boys, the white man's clothes hung awkwardly on him; but in swimming trunks John was a living statue in bronze. And he could swim! We spent many an afternoon sitting on Kirby's Dock with our grandmother, who put in as much time as she could near the water, watching John Pennock dive into that cold water and swim in the clear depths. He never tired. He was never cold. He talked, and John Deverney didn't at all or very little. From him William learned to paddle a canoe; only, at Mother's stern command, the canoe was a rowboat.

William spent golden summer hours with the two Indian boys and Harold Kirby, the red-haired Canadian. For all the time that John Pennock and the other Indian children lived in Petoskey that friendship continued. I still think he could have found worse companions. Ellen played with Lena Keewee and Ida Deverney. They

were the same age. I was older by a few years, however, and I went more often to the home of Lena's grandmother, who was our wash-woman. She would take our clothes to her home and bring them back in a little wagon. Everything was spotless and beautifully ironed. Then she would sit, a squat, silent figure, waiting for her money. On one of these occasions, my grandmother, who had paid her and then tried to draw her into conversation, burst out to my mother, "Can't that native American talk? All she does is grunt!"

She could and did talk. Sitting in her spotless kitchen, I learned some of the legends of that region: Of the wicked giant who fell asleep in the sand at the head of the bay; that land of silence, broken only by the lap of waves on the beach, or by furtive rustlings as some frightened wild thing hurried through the undergrowth; where, at sunset, the deer came always over the same trails to drink at the water's edge. "The giant," she said, "had been placed under a spell by the Great Spirit, and was still there, his outstretched form outlined by the sand dunes."

Then there was the story of White Lion Spring, a spring that came out of a hill in the deep woods. We used to go there to drink that ice cold water. According to the legend, long, long ago, an Indian brave and his sweetheart met there nightly. But the Indian left the maiden and she killed herself beside the running water. Manitou put her spirit into the body of a white lion, and it came every night to watch for the faithless lover.

One of our favorite haunts was One Mile Point. Sometimes we rowed, more often we walked there. It was on one of these walks that Lena's grandmother called to us. We went up and there in the yard sitting on the ground was an old Indian squaw. She must have been a hundred years old. Her face was a mass of wrinkles and her long, gray hair hung over her eyes. Mumbling in Ottawa, she would point to the sky and then jab a kitchen knife into the ground. She was telling us, we were told, that she had seen the stars fall, many, many of them years and years ago.

The front of our property had two terraces, the lower one forever damp from the springs of water that trickled from the hill. Coarse grass grew thickly there and once two squaws stopped, felt that grass, grunted and shook their heads. I was standing on the log steps that led to the upper level. "Sweet grass?" I asked; the younger one

shook her head again. I had thought, that through some trading, I could get some baskets, but it didn't work out that way.

When the wild blackberries were ripe, boatloads of Indians, men and women, would come from Cross Village. Their boats were Mackinaws; two-masted open sailboats, pointed at both ends, with dirty, patched, and painted sails. We used to watch them come across the bay, borne by scarcely a breath of wind.

The Mackinaws were run up on the beach. Soon a squaw with a shawl covering the upper part of her body would appear at the back porch. We never heard her come. She would stand there without a word or change of expression until one of us, my mother or grandmother, would say, "Bijou" (the French *Bonjour* twisted by the red-skin tongue). "Berries? Show me, this much" and hold up three fingers. We knew that under the shawl were two big baskets of luscious berries. The price was never right the first time. The shawl was thrown back and the squaw held up five fingers. Back and forth went the haggling until at last we had ten or twelve quarts of such blackberries as I have never tasted since, at five or six cents a quart.

Later in the day, baskets empty, the squaws would join the men at the boats. The Mackinaws would be pushed out, the sails raised and they would go back across the bay and out of sight into Lake Michigan. It was seldom that they came more than twice in a season.

Beyond One Mile Point was Two Mile Point, and a mile or so farther down the shore lived a stolid square-built Ottawa, named Frank Sucwa. It wasn't until we three were grown and had our own sailboat that we happened to see his little cabin, set in a clearing, with a considerable garden patch beside it.

Frank used to come to Petoskey in a canoe made from a log, a "dug-out" it was called. He would paddle this canoe and although he rode in the trough of the waves his craft never rolled much, never upset. After our first sight of Frank we tried to do the same thing in a rowboat and were soaked to the skin.

One morning of the season that we had the three dogs, Canada, English, and Dutch, I was on the beach looking for Dutch who had failed to show up for breakfast. I believe Indians are able to read the white mind: Frank Sucwa came along the Pere Marquette Railroad track. As he passed me he said, "You look for dog; him dead; train hit; me bury him." Dutch was Ellen's pup and she wept bitterly

when I told her, but William and I let her share Canada and English.

The first time Mother found an Indian sleeping off a drunk in our grove, as we called the cluster of trees at the corner of our property, she put on her hat and went uptown to the marshal's office. She was furious, but the marshal, a fine law officer and a diplomat, calmed her with

"Mrs. Judkins, whiskey doesn't put the Ottawa on the warpath; he just feels so sorry for himself that he cries like a baby. I never lock them up; I only start them down Lake Street, hoping they will reach some quiet spot. This one couldn't resist the grass and moss under your trees; he will be gone, most likely, by the time you reach home."

So they came, singly, or, more often, in pairs, crying on each other's shoulders. They were harmless and we stayed away from the grove if some should stop, which after all wasn't often.

The great event of the season, after we were older, was the Ringling Brothers' Circus and the parade. We never missed a performance of the great circus as it made its northward swing during midsummer. It stayed at least two days at Petoskey. For seven long, long days the billboards beside town and country roads were covered with flamboyant posters. Always somewhere among the trapeze artists or jungle beasts faithful likenesses of the five Ringling brothers in profile were arranged stair-fashioned. Black haired, black bearded, and black moustached, they were veritable gods to native and resorter children.

Indeed my brother with his chums, white and Indian, met the train as it pulled onto the siding near our cottage and were there when the circus entrained. We girls woke and listened to the squeals and grunts of the animals, the shouts of trainers and roustabouts. We all turned out early for the parade which made its triumphal way over the main streets leading to the circus lot east of town.

However, on one never-to-be-forgotten day, it was to perform over on the west side, our side, of town. All went well until the vanguard reached the high bridge, a flimsy structure, that connected the little city with the west side, which was largely residential. Here Bear Creek flowed through a deep gorge whose sides dropped rapidly until at the lower bridge, a square or so nearer the bay, they were at street level.

The high, or Mitchell Street bridge, had seemed safe for wagons, carriages, buggies, or oxcarts during the years before this day. One

of the Ringling brothers, riding ahead, considered the lightness of the structure and halted the parade. He ordered a mahout to bring one of the elephants forward and to lead it to the bridge. The great beast put one foot on the flooring and drew back. That settled it, if the elephant knew, then the wagons carrying the poles and canvas for the bigtop could not cross without collapsing part, if not all, of the bridge. There was the lower bridge; the parade turned back. We youngsters ran to meet it once more. One thing was certain, it would go up the hill beside our cottage! This parade was different from any Petoskey had seen. The road was sand with a slight rock roadway in the center. The endless line of wagons carrying the band, the animals, and the floats with the bareback trapeze artists, clowns, and whatnot, and the many horses and elephants didn't seem to damage the roadway. But those carrying the great poles and canvas for the bigtop and lesser tents tore out the roadbed as though it had never been. The wagons got stuck in the sand. The five Ringling brothers rode up and down ordering the elephants back to push and then to push some more.

The populace sat on the side of our property; we were at grandstand elevation. One farmer, his wife, and six children, obtained our mother's permission to eat their lunch on our front porch. They were quiet and courteous and cleaned up every scrap of paper and food.

It was hours before the performance began. The extra show that we had enjoyed made the day a perfect one for us but a vast headache for the five Ringlings.

Another time as whites (residents and resorters) and Indians stood at the curb to see that never-to-be-forgotten procession, one of our neighbors, a resorter from Chicago, stood next to Mrs. Deverney, who, although she had the youngest papoose in her arms, had had more than one sip of firewater. This neighbor said later "Mrs. Deverney enjoyed every minute of that parade. She was so interested and so drunk that twice I had to turn that papoose right side up. I don't know how she did it but its feet were where its head should have been and not a squawk out of it!"

We went to Michigan for twenty years. During the latter part of that period our onetime playmates, the Deverneys and Chippewa John, had gone to other localities. Chief Petoskey had either moved

his store to some other location or had gone out of business, for we lost all track of him. Bertha Petoskey was married and had gone away. It was only after many years that I heard the name, Petoskey, applied to a person. That was in 1902 when my sister Ellen and I ventured into a Michigan wilderness of thickly wooded silent waterways. The day was cold and rainy; the frost had turned the woods into a glory of color. Our trip took us down the Crooked River to Burt Lake and the Indian River to Mullet Lake. The pilot of the little woodburning steamer was Tom Petoskey.

Crooked River is well named; it twists and twines, until at some of those corkscrew turns the boat went backward in order to go forward. It was on the return trip that at one of those points we ran into the bank with the current giving an extra push. Tom Petoskey leaned out of the pilothouse and looked silently. The mate was a Swede and in due time he went aft to view the mishap. Luckily, the quarter had swung around into the bank in such a way that the rudder was not disabled. After a long look the mate shouted, "Tom, she ban stuck!" "Stuck," Tom said, "get the pole." The pole was an evergreen with the branches trimmed off. Tom left the pilothouse; the engineer appeared; and the three of them set the end of the pole into the bank and pushed. After hours, so it seemed to us, although it was really only part of one hour, the steamer swung free. Tom took the wheel and once more we twisted our way to Oden, at which point we went by train to Petoskey.

Time brought many changes to northern Michigan. A single-track railroad, the Grand Rapids and Indiana, over which we had made such tiresome trips, ran through the center of the Lower Peninsula, a region of sandy wasteland, dotted in later years with stumps of burned trees. In the middle 1890's this road was taken over by the Pennsylvania System. Crack passenger trains with Pullmans, diners, and vestibules throughout, bringing people and more people made Petoskey in fourteen hours from Cincinnati five hundred miles away, against the more than twenty-three hours of the old days. Petoskey had become the hub of a vast resort region with a population during the summer months of one hundred thousand. Mother had enlarged our cottage. On our ridge where in 1889 ours was the second house there were now four more.

It wasn't until 1942 that Ellen and I returned to Little Traverse Bay. Petoskey had grown into a solid little city. Our cottage had been changed into a permanent dwelling; the Bay Shore House was closed up and falling to pieces; our beloved neighborhood was almost a slum. To us nothing was the same.

Harbor Springs had changed the least. There we came upon a little Indian curio shop; we opened the door and went in. Out of the shadowy rear of the store stepped a man who might have been Petasoga himself. He was Joe Ettawageshik, chief of the Ottawas. He told me what little he knew of the Deverneys and the others; the older ones were dead, the younger ones had married and were scattered through the states; the Petoskeys were living in various parts of Michigan. We bought some little birchbark canoes, and picture postcards of the Indian church; then told Chief Ettawageshik good-by.

Ann Arbor and the Coming of the Civil War

George S. May

THE PERIOD FROM NOVEMBER, 1860, TO APRIL, 1861, was one of the most critical in the history of the United States. It was during these months that the states of the South broke out of the Union to form the Confederate States of America—an action which in turn resulted in the outbreak of the Civil War. It would seem to be interesting, then, to discover how these great events were felt in the small Northern community of Ann Arbor.

The presidential election of 1860 had been a particularly bitter one with four major candidates in the field. The Democratic party was split in two. A Southern wing put forward John Breckenridge as its presidential candidate, and a Northern wing ran Stephen Douglas as its candidate. Then there was John Bell, candidate of the more conservative elements in the border states, and Abraham Lincoln, candidate of the new Republican party, the party of the antislavery people, among others. Many issues were discussed during the campaign. The one which remained after the election as the all-important question was that of secession. The Breckenridge men had made it clear that if the antislavery forces won the election, the South would have no choice but to secede if they were to maintain slavery in the South. With the election of Lincoln, then, the question was would the South carry out its threat?

In Ann Arbor at this time there were three weekly newspapers. The *Michigan State News* and the *Journal* were Republican in their political views. The third, the *Michigan Argus*, was Democratic. All were at first unanimous in the belief that the South's threat to secede had been mere campaign oratory. The *Michigan State News* declared that

Mr. Lincoln's administration will prove successful. We believe he will inaugurate a policy that will meet the entire approbation of the North, and have at least a quieting influence on the South. His will be a peaceable administration.¹

¹*Michigan State News* (Ann Arbor), November 13, 1860.

The *Journal* felt that the Southern slaveholder had little to fear from Lincoln.

We believe him to be a national Republican of the Henry Clay school, and no abolitionist. . . . He has declared himself distinctly opposed to negro suffrage, and we have faith to believe that he is not afflicted with any negrophobia, or delusive theory that the African race are either intellectually or morally equal to the European, or capable of being made equal by education.

Therefore there seemed to be considerable reason to believe that Lincoln, instead of following the line of the extreme abolitionists in his party, would choose not to "interfere with slavery, either directly or indirectly in the slave states."² Both the *Journal* and the *Michigan State News* recognized that compromises would have to be made between the two sections, especially since the Republican party would not control a majority of the seats in Congress. The *Michigan Argus* declared at this time that it was not alarmed by the rumored plots in the South.

There have long been fanatics at the North, and it is not to be wondered at that there are fanatics at the South; but we have the utmost confidence that both wings acting in concert are powerless to break up the Union.³

In a week or so, however, the *Michigan Argus* and the *Journal* began to show signs of alarm. An editorial in the *Michigan Argus* asked the questions: "Has the United States a President, or a General Government? Is there any United States, or have they already fallen to pieces?" President Buchanan was a Democrat but the *Michigan Argus* was becoming impatient at his lack of action. It declared that "he cannot longer preserve silence with honor."⁴ The *Journal* began to speak of the possibility of war, stating that if the "Cotton States" seceded the Federal Government would

not have much to do except to blockade the ports of the states . . . , man the United States Forts, hold a steady hand and let the traitors fret and sweat [until they see] bankruptcy, starvation, and ultimate ruin and disgrace staring them in the face.⁵

Lorenzo Davis, the editor of the *Michigan State News*, reported that

²Ann Arbor *Journal*, November 14, 1860.

³*Michigan Argus* (Ann Arbor), November 16, 1860.

⁴*Michigan Argus*, November 23, 1860.

⁵*Journal*, November 21, 1860.

friends had been asking him for his opinion of "the great disunion humbug of 1860." The subject was "not worth the serious thought of a sensible man and . . . should be treated with silent scorn and contempt." Nevertheless, a two-column editorial on the subject followed.⁶

In December the Congress met and Buchanan sent to it his annual message on the state of the union. He was forced to take notice of the impending secession of South Carolina and other states of the lower South and in so doing he pleased scarcely anyone when he said that no state had the constitutional right to secede but that at the same time Congress had no constitutional power to prevent a state from taking such action. The *Michigan State News* was outraged. "It is well for our Country that this is the last message of the imbecile old man. . . ," it said. The message's "contradictions, senseless propositions, and wicked falsehoods, render it the worst paper put forth by any public man since the foundation of the Government."⁷ The *Michigan Argus* declared that the message did not meet the emergency.

There is no such thing as secession. No one State can go out of the Union without the consent of the others, and disunion must be accomplished by means awful to contemplate. It is not to be wondered at that the President's views have failed to satisfy anybody in Congress or out.⁸

Up until now all the talk had been centered around the question of the South seceding. On December 18 the *Michigan State News* came out and stated flatly that there would be no secession. The whole thing was "a plan of Northern and Southern politicians to distract and disrupt the Republican party."⁹ Two days later South Carolina seceded. One stage of the crisis had been passed. Secession was an accomplished fact. The question now was what would the Federal government do about it? The *Michigan State News*, moving quickly from optimism to pessimism, advised its readers in its New Year's edition to "look for a civil war."¹⁰

The people of Ann Arbor began to realize the full seriousness of the situation about the same time, and when Buchanan called for

⁶*Michigan State News*, November 27, 1860.

⁷*Michigan State News*, December 11, 1860.

⁸*Michigan Argus*, December 14, 1860.

⁹*Michigan State News*, December 18, 1860.

¹⁰*Michigan State News*, January 1, 1861.

the observance of January 4, 1861, as a national day of fasting and prayer, the residents of the city complied wholeheartedly. The Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists filled the Methodist church in the morning and a service of "prayer and singing" was held. In the afternoon they met again in the Presbyterian church. The other denominations observed the day in like fashion. The *Michigan Argus* observed

If a good attendance, and an evident deep religious interest are any token of the interest that these churches feel in the safety and peace of the government, then we should say they have met those obligations in cheerfully responding to the call of the Chief Magistrate to fast and pray for our common and beloved country.¹¹

That there were those who did not trust in faith alone to solve the nation's problems was evidenced by this item in the *Michigan State News*:

Those persons subject to military duty in this city and vicinity, who are disposed to become members of a military company of infantry, and who would be willing to aid in enforcing the laws of the United States if called upon so to do, are requested to meet at Cooks Hotel on Tuesday evening, January 17.¹²

This company is heard of no more, but on January 14 the regular monthly meeting of the Steuben Guards, a local military unit organized in 1859 and made up largely of German immigrants, resolved that the Commanding Officer of this Company be requested to offer our services as a Company, and as individuals to the Commander-in-Chief of the forces of the State, and to assure him, in view of the present crisis, of our readiness and desire to defend and vindicate to the utmost the laws and Constitution of our adopted country.¹³

The students at the University of Michian had been preparing for war since shortly after secession became an actuality. "Many who had planned for professional careers laid such things aside indefinitely and gave their every hour's spare time to military drill, counting all as uncertain or of little worth unless the Union were saved." Red, white, and blue became the favorite colors and the flag, which seems not to have been very prominent but a short time before, now came into display much more often. This new patriotic surge was

¹¹*Michigan Argus*, January 11, 1861.

¹²*Michigan State News*, January 15, 1861.

¹³*Journal*, January 16, 1861.

carried to extremes when a woman singer appearing with a group of entertainers at Hangsterfer's, the students' favorite hangout, came out one night draped in an American flag and sang the Star Spangled Banner. The students liked this so well that they demanded repeat performances each night.¹⁴ Several voluntary student companies were raised. The two or three students at the University from the South ridiculed the crude performances of these amateurs at war, but shortly these students left to fight with the South.¹⁵

The crisis in the country dragged on through January and February. Buchanan continued to do as little as possible or so it seemed. The *Michigan State News* compared him with Benedict Arnold and exclaimed, "Oh, the consequences to this nation of the election of James Buchanan."¹⁶ The conservative *Journal* published a voluminous editorial, as was the custom of its editor, Ezra Seaman, which is rather revealing in the view which it gives of a certain class in the North. It was entitled, "Popular Delusions in Relation to War, Slaves, Slavery, and the Abolition of Slavery." The editor very correctly declared that it was a false hope that many Northerners entertained of a slave insurrection in the South which would completely cripple their power to resist Northern attacks. Not only would there be no slave insurrection, the *Journal* declared, but the slaves would add to the military strength of the South "by reason of their peaceful labor for their masters and the cheapness of their support." The paper pointed out that in case of war the South would fight almost entirely on the defensive "and our readers should bear in mind, that the cost of carrying on a defensive war is small compared with a foreign and distant one." The North would need several times as many forces as the South in order to subdue "a people animated by a warlike spirit and a determination to maintain their independence." Taking these facts into consideration the *Journal*, which but two months before had spoken confidently of how simple it would be to starve the South into submission, now asked if the differences between the North and the South were so great as to be worth such a war. One such point of difference was whether or not slavery was

¹⁴William H. Beadle, "Ascendat," in the *Michigan Alumnus*, 9:244-45 (March, 1903).

¹⁵Orson B. Curtis, "Our University During the War," in the *Michigan Alumnus*, 3:201 (June, 1897).

¹⁶*Michigan State News*, January 1, 1861.

to be permitted to enter the territories. The *Journal* took the same position as did Daniel Webster some ten years earlier by declaring that the western climate would not allow slavery on a large scale to be brought into the territories.

The Republican party is . . . not pledged to abolish or attempt to abolish slavery where it now exists. . . . It does not seem worth while to plunge the nation into civil war, to assert an abstract principle. . . .¹⁷ We have gained a noble Republican victory; let us secure its fruits by a wise and conservative policy. By a course of radicalism, all may be lost.

This was an unpopular stand to take, the paper admitted, but we do not intend to sacrifice the best interests of our country for the purpose of courting popularity. To undertake to conquer and reduce to submission to the Constitution and laws of the United States, all the slave States combined, armed as they are, would be madness and folly.¹⁸

In February the *Michigan State News* cheerfully announced that secession had collapsed. The sensible people in the border states were regaining their reason. Many difficulties remained to be overcome but

the North has only to remain firm and decided, to stand by the Constitution, the Union and the enforcement of the laws, to win a moral victory far more brilliant and glorious than that which so happily crowned their efforts in November. . . . Let the Republicans stand firm. . . . A few weeks more of manly devotion to principles, such as every consideration of duty and right imperatively demand, and the North will emerge from this trying contest with the approbation of Christendom.¹⁹

Finally on March 4, after months of speculation by everyone, futile attempts at compromise in Congress, and inaction by the administration, Lincoln and his party, in accordance with prescribed constitutional procedure, got control of the Federal government. The citizens of Ann Arbor and of the nation hastened to read Lincoln's inaugural addresses to see what action he would take against the Southern states which had seceded and formed their own government.

¹⁷The abstract principle being that of not permitting slavery into the western territories.

¹⁸*Journal*, January 23, 1861. At this time the incident of the Parker Pillsbury riot occurred in Ann Arbor which gave proof of the views of the various groups in the town on slavery. See George S. May, "Parker Pillsbury and Wendell Phillips in Ann Arbor," in *Michigan History*, 33:155-62 (June, 1949).

¹⁹*Michigan State News*, February 19, 1861.

The *Michigan Argus*, being Democratic, declared the inaugural was not

in all things what we wished it might be; and yet we are not disappointed in its position or tone. . . . The Inaugural appeals to all Union loving men, North and South, to stand by the Union, and we hope, sincerely hope, that this appeal will meet a proper response. . . . We are no Republican and cannot be expected to endorse every act of Mr. Lincoln and his administration, but we bid him God-speed and his administration success in all constitutional measures, and in the preservation and perpetuation of the Union.²⁰

The *Journal* was rather brief in its notice of the address, merely printing it in its entirety and observing that it "will command the general assent of the people of the North, with few exceptions."²¹ The *Michigan State News* said the country drew "a long breath of relief" when it read the speech. "It gives general satisfaction throughout the land, except to traitors with arms in their hands and the gallows in prospect." The paper noted the fact that many Democrats were "delighted with the conservative and national views of the inaugural." The *Michigan State News* was not at all surprised, of course, since the Republicans "have always contended . . . that they were a highly conservative party with national views."²²

The firmness of the new administration undoubtedly bolstered the morale of the North, but it only increased the tension since war now seemed certain to break out unless the South gave in completely. That being out of the question, it now was obvious that sooner or later an incident would arise which would end in war. The editor of the *Michigan Argus*, Elihu B. Pond, reported that everywhere one heard the words "Fort Sumpter,"

Has Fort Sumpter been evacuated? when is Fort Sumpter to be evacuated? will Lincoln give up Fort Sumpter? where will Maj. Anderson go to. . . ? Fort Sumpter must be reinforced. . . ! upon James Buchanan be all the responsibility! These, and a score more of similar inquiries and exclamations stare at us from every paper we open, and salute our ears at every street corner. They have taken the place of ordinary complimentary greetings and partings, and yet the whole thing is a mystery, or at least is shadowed in doubt.

The editor felt the fort would be evacuated. He hoped it would be

²⁰*Michigan Argus*, March 8, 1861.

²¹*Journal*, March 6, 1861.

²²*Michigan State News*, March 12, 1861.

an indication of the policy of the administration to avoid an armed clash at all costs

for a collision between the National authority and the Seceded States can not promote any good end. This Nation is not to be cemented by blood . . . the interests of our country and of humanity demand a peaceable solution.²³

Less than three weeks later, however, the *Journal* reported that, according to all indications, "Fort Sumpter" would be reinforced and supplied, "let the hazards be what they may. . . . War seems inevitable, and we may now daily expect to hear that it has commenced at Fort Sumpter and Pickens."²⁴

Ezra Seaman and his readers did not have long to wait. Three days later, Saturday morning, April 13, 1861, word reached Ann Arbor that Fort Sumter had been attacked. A period of thirty-six hours of tense and expectant waiting followed until late Sunday evening the news came over the telegraph that Fort Sumter had been surrendered; that the Federal troops had been "compelled to lower the stars and stripes—to haul down the American flag, and surrender unconditionally to traitors. How humiliating the occurrence!"²⁵ The *Michigan State News* declared that

the striking of the glorious stars and stripes to Rebels mantles the cheek of every Patriot in the country with shame and mortification and fills his soul with rage. The Northern lion is fully aroused and the traitors will surely have reason to test the strength of their purposes and of hemp.²⁶

The *Michigan Argus* sorrowfully wrote that

peace no longer reigns in all our [borders], but the clang of arms and the voice of the loud-mouthed cannon is heard in the land. . . . American blood has been shed,—and by Americans,—and God alone knows the end. We write with a heart full almost to bursting; with such a feeling as we never before put pen to paper; with no glimmer of light breaking on the future, not even the cold glimmer which anticipated military glory is wont to shed between contending states and nations.²⁷

Early Monday morning the courthouse bell rang—a signal to the people that important news had arrived. Quickly they gathered in

²³*Michigan Argus*, March 22, 1861.

²⁴*Journal*, April 10, 1861.

²⁵*Journal*, April 17, 1861.

²⁶*Michigan State News*, April 16, 1861.

²⁷*Michigan Argus*, April 19, 1861.

the building and outside in the square. When the telegraphic dispatches were read to them, they heard, most of them for the first time, the momentous news of the fall of Fort Sumter. Every one was tremendously moved, and it is doubtful if much work of any sort was done that morning. In the afternoon President Henry Tappan of the University of Michigan and some two hundred students appeared in the Courthouse Square and rang the bell again. A crowd soon gathered and was addressed by Dr. Tappan and other prominent citizens. This meeting, like most of those held in this period, was not just a gathering of people to hear men talk. It was a kind of town meeting. Officers were chosen, parliamentary procedure followed, and resolutions adopted. At this meeting Dr. Tappan was chosen chairman and Elihu B. Pond was chosen secretary. Two resolutions were drawn up by a committee and approved by the assembled gathering. First they resolved to stand by the president of the United States "in the proper and continued performance of his duties in executing the laws of the United States." Secondly they resolved to appoint a committee of five which was to prepare the citizens of military age to meet the expected call by Lincoln on the states for troops. The committee would do this by aiding in the organizing of military companies.²⁸

Pond had a few words to say about the meeting. Some of the speakers, he wrote in the *Michigan Argus*, had been rather indiscreet in their remarks. One young man

so far forgot the proprieties due to the occasion as to speak of the last [political] campaign, its issues, and victories, and to assert that its victories are now to be perpetuated in another campaign, and to speak in sneering terms of Democrats.

The speaker could perhaps be forgiven because of his youth and the excitement of the day but an older man who should have known better

made up an indictment against the South running back through sixty years. We protest against such speakers, at least in Union meetings. . . . If our Republican friends are to be Union men, let them sink platforms, and campaigns, and whinings about aggression into forgetfulness, and then they may draw Union checks upon the Democratic party. We know no party until the contest is over, we sustain the Federal Government as the Government, and not as a Republican administration, and

²⁸*Journal*, April 17, 1861.

neither we nor our fellow Democrats wish to, or will hear in Union Meetings, such speeches as the two we refer to.²⁹

Lincoln issued a call for seventy-five thousand men to fight the war. Michigan was assigned the job of furnishing one regiment. Governor Austin Blair called for the people to loan the state \$100,000 to equip and arm this force. John Miller, the successful Republican candidate for mayor of Ann Arbor in the spring elections two weeks previous, issued a call of his own to the citizens of Ann Arbor to meet at the Courthouse on April 19 to see what they could do about raising their share of the money. The meeting adjourned after hearing the good news that some \$4,500 had been subscribed.³⁰ Apparently this was a rather high estimate of their expectations or else some \$2,000 in subscriptions were never paid because in the official list of contributions a total of only \$2,550 is listed from Ann Arbor. At that, however, Ann Arbor had a remarkable record when compared with the rest of Washtenaw County. Ypsilanti, with only a slightly smaller population than Ann Arbor at this time, contributed only \$50 while the small village of Dexter gave \$230. This was the extent of the county's contributions. Ann Arbor with about a seventh of the county's population gave ten times as much as the rest of the county put together.³¹

As if the past week had not been exciting enough, the rumor spread on Saturday and reached its peak early Sunday morning that Washington had been captured by the rebels and Lincoln and General Winfield Scott were prisoners. The *Michigan Argus* and the *Journal*, acting together in a demonstration of united effort, brought out an extra Sunday at noon, containing all the dispatches up to 10 A. M. that morning. Presumably this extra dispelled the unfounded rumor but, nevertheless, excitement was at the highest pitch yet reached.

Dr. Tappan told his students at their regular morning chapel that he would address the people of the town in the Courthouse Square that afternoon. The ministers of the various churches, at the request

²⁹*Michigan Argus*, April 19, 1861. Elihu Pond was upset by the sixty year indictment of the South possibly because such an indictment would involve a good deal of criticism of many prominent Southern leaders in the Democratic party through those years.

³⁰*Journal*, April 24, 1861.

³¹John Robertson, *Michigan in the War*, 18-21 (Lansing, 1882).

of Mayor Miller, announced that a Union meeting would be staged that afternoon. At 2 P. M. the square was filled to overflowing. The members of the Steuben Guards were out in full uniform. All the important people in town were present. The students at the University of Michigan had built a platform out of dry-goods boxes at the south end of the square,³² and on it were all the clergymen in the city.

Dr. Tappan spoke for a long time, as was the custom in those days, and according to one listener, he spoke "more eloquently and earnestly that day than on any other occasion in his notable life." He had long held back his true feelings on the state of the nation, and, indeed, had been considered rather conservative in his views on slavery and secession, but now, after reading some passages from the Old Testament, he

dwelt upon the questions at issue with unequalled power. He spoke with mind and heart and soul in heroic agony as if long-formed opinions and long-silenced feelings now burst into utterance. Students and townspeople listened with wonder and admiration and none who heard has forgotten the magnificent address.³³

After Dr. Tappan and the other ministers had finished, Andrew D. White of the University of Michigan announced that Robert Barry, a former mayor of the city, had raised a company of men, which would be Ann Arbor's second company. The unit was named,

³²Noah W. Cheever, *Stories and Amusing Incidents in the Early History of the University of Michigan*, 61 (Ann Arbor, 1895).

³³Beadle, "Ascendat," in the *Michigan Alumnus*, 9:245. There is some confusion regarding the time of Dr. Tappan's address. Cheever and Beadle, writing some thirty years after the event, both declare that this speech was given on Sunday, April 14, after the news of the surrender of Fort Sumter had arrived. But this is impossible, since, by the testimony of the newspapers, the news of the surrender did not arrive until late in the evening. It is necessary to assume, then, that this famous speech was given on the following Sunday and that Cheever, whom Beadle probably followed as the source of his chronology, became naturally confused because there were two such important Sundays following one another, and he wished to place the speech in as dramatic a place as possible, which would be just after the townspeople had been stunned by news of Fort Sumter. It is possible that some confusion might still arise, however, due to the fact that Dr. Tappan spoke twice in one week, on Monday as well as the following Sunday. However, the Monday speech was delivered inside the courthouse and Cheever definitely places his speech out in the open. Also Beadle seems certain that his speech was on a Sunday, even if he has the wrong date. If Cheever did make a mistake, as it appears, then it would not have been the first time his memory played him tricks.

appropriately enough, the Barry Guards. During the meeting, also, a subscription was passed around to raise money to help support the families of the Steuben Guards after the men went off to fight the rebels. White announced that \$800 had already been paid in and that more was pledged. The Steuben Guards, perhaps to show its appreciation, paraded about in front of the speaker's stand with its band playing martial music. With such music and "anthems and cheers" the meeting broke up after a long afternoon. "The impressions of the doubts and fears of the safety of this great Union upon the minds of the assembled thousands during that day of excitement of civil war, will probably never be erased."³⁴ The *Michigan Argus* observed that

this Sabbath meeting, a thing so unusual and almost unheard of in this country, shows the intense excitement that pervades society, an excitement that has thoroughly aroused all classes, and especially the men of capital and character. It was a gathering not for pleasure but of earnest men to consider their duty to the country.

The day was not yet over, for in the evening the Methodist church was filled and most of the ministers in the town made their third public appearance of the day to conduct religious services.³⁵

This day, April 21, 1861, probably marked the high-water mark of the submersion of petty political differences in the great national crisis. Other high points were to be reached later, but not very long after this earliest and greatest manifestation of unity, political animosity began to rear its head once more and Democrats were Democrats and Republicans Republicans again. Possibly the greatest change was that party differences were more marked than before the war. It took an extraordinarily crucial event to make party partisans forget their animosities later long enough to join in common, united action such as they had displayed in April, 1861.

The first days of the war were exciting. As yet nobody had been personally touched by the war. The result was that everybody enjoyed that deceptive thrill which accompanies martial preparations. Men were eager to enlist, especially since the term of service was to be only three months. The excitement ran so high that the *Michigan Argus* felt called upon to issue a warning to parents. It was

³⁴*Journal*, April 24, 1861.

³⁵*Michigan Argus*, April 26, 1861.

aware of the nature of the times and of boys but, it said, there was no excuse for letting the boys run about in the streets. "They are not wanted as soldiers, and it can do them no good, but injury only to hang around armories, hotels, and street corners" all day. Boys should be in school but by all appearances not many were attending. "Come, Boys, to School," it admonished them.³⁶ But such an injunction was hard to obey when at the University of Michigan the grown-up boys³⁷ were restrained with difficulty by Tappan and White from rushing off to war at once. White told the students, "Wait; this is not to be a war of months, but years. You will have your chance. Finish your course; then go to your homes and enlist from there." The more or less informal companies on campus were now officially recognized. The librarian, Joseph Vance, was appointed drillmaster. The groups received such names as the University Guards, Chancellor Greys, Tappan Guards, and Ellsworth Cadets. A glorious struggle for election to high positions ensued. Very few indeed were so lacking in ambition as to be satisfied with the rank of private.³⁸

In the city the young men who joined the Steuben Guards or the Barry Guards were not alone in their patriotic zeal. The older men, those over forty-five years of age, formed a company known as the Silver Greys. About seventy-five men joined this home guard unit. It included Ezra Seaman and Dr. Tappan. The unit was periodically reorganized in the following months. Edward Clark, one of the older inhabitants of the city, was elected captain.³⁹ The group drilled once a week, generally on Saturday. Anyone on the muster rolls not present was fined one dime. The *Journal*, whose editor was a private, upon the organization of the group, exclaimed

³⁶*Michigan Argus*, April 26, 1861.

³⁷The average member of the class of 1861 was well along in his twenties.

³⁸Isaac Elliot, "Some of the Boys of '57-'61," in the *Michigan Alumnus*, 9:249 (March, 1903). Elliot points out that White's advice was not followed by some of the class. The Chancellor Greys went to Jackson to enlist. While parading down the streets, Second Lieutenant Fred Arn fell down and Tom Weit, the class jokester, cried out, "Fred, you are the first man to fall in this war." They were not accepted, however, as the state's ranks were already filled.

³⁹It had been a custom to call Edward Clark "General" because Governor Steven Mason commissioned him a general in the early state militia. It is reported that he saw active service during a cholera epidemic, "keeping persons suspected of infection away from Ann Arbor." Washtenaw Pioneer Society, *History of Washtenaw County, Michigan*, 974 (Chicago, 1881).

This is truly patriotic and in good time, and with the experience that many of them possess of military tactics, could in a very short time, rally to the protection of their homes and the city, with promptness, efficiency and success.⁴⁰

The national flag continued to come into much greater prominence and now blossomed forth all over the city from housetops, windows, and poles. One day "a daring young man showed his patriotism and strength by climbing the Democratic pole on the corner of the Public Square, and reeved the halliard for the flag." The flag was then raised amid the accompaniment of the cheers of the crowd and the playing of the Star Spangled Banner. Richard G. DuPuy of the Barry Guards and Andrew D. White delivered speeches "which were strong with Union sentiments and overwhelming in their denunciations of the Secessionists," and called on every "lover of his country to stand by the flag of the Union." About the same time the Barry Guards stood by while the students at the Union School hoisted the flag over the school after which they all marched to the Courthouse Square and gave three cheers for the Union, the Union School scholars, and the Barry Guards.⁴¹

The *Michigan Argus* commented that the city "might well be taken for a military encampment" because of the eminence of flags.⁴² Such a view would not be entirely wrong, either, as the Barry Guards went into camp at the Fair Grounds on April 27, just as the Steuben Guards was making ready to leave to be mustered into active service. The Barry Guards, "one hundred athletic, young and vigorous men," named its camp after Robert Barry, the ex-mayor of Ann Arbor, present county clerk, and now captain of the company, and found its quarters completely fitted out with beds, clothing and provisions, through the efforts of the townspeople, "especially of the ladies." On the Sunday morning following, religious services were held at the camp which were presided over by the indefatigable Dr. Tappan. A large group of townspeople attended.⁴³

On April 29 the first group of men from Ann Arbor departed for active duty when the Steuben Guards left for regimental headquarters at Fort Wayne, Detroit. A few minutes past six in the

⁴⁰*Journal*, April 24, June 12, 1861.

⁴¹*Journal*, April 24, 1861.

⁴²*Michigan Argus*, April 26, 1861.

⁴³*Journal*, May 1, 1861.

morning the troops, escorted by the Barry Guards and the "Relief Fire Company, No. 2, in full uniform," marched to the Courthouse Square with the band playing "inspiring strains." A great crowd was on hand. On behalf of the ladies of the city the Rev. Lucas D. Chapin of the Presbyterian church presented each man with a New Testament, remarking as he did so that this volume was "the charter of our liberties, and the only safe guide and reliance of the soldier in the contest now upon us." Captain William Roth expressed the thanks of the company and the troops proceeded on to the depot, followed by what seems to have been most of the people of the city. Congressman Bradley F. Granger, on behalf of some of the citizens, presented Captain Roth with a Colt revolver. The congressman took the opportunity to deliver a short address.

Alluding to the presentation of the Testaments, the Judge remarked that they would furnish food for meditation, but that the Revolver might be wanted for service, and if wanted the donors would be satisfied could they know that it had been the death of *one* traitor.

Then he mentioned the fact that death and taxes are inevitable and assured the Steuben Guards that if they went forth to meet death in defense of their country's flag we, who might stay at home, would meet all the demands of the tax-gatherer, and would drive away want from the door of the families of those who were fighting our battles for us.

Captain Roth again expressed his thanks.⁴⁴ Then after three cheers for the departing soldiers and the Union, the last partings were made, and the men boarded their train and at seven o'clock pulled away.⁴⁵

The city had already taken action to back up Granger's promise to ward off hunger from the doors of the families of the soldiers. On April 25, a mass meeting resolved to ask all townships in the county to call meetings to raise money to aid these families. Two days later a meeting of the taxpayers was held at the Courthouse. After a long

⁴⁴In Orlando W. Stephenson, *Ann Arbor: The First Hundred Years*, 157 (Ann Arbor, 1927), Captain Roth is quoted as saying as he accepted the New Testaments, "Ladies and Schentlemens—I tank you very mooch for the presentations of the Bibles to my goompany. I vood say more but, by God, I got no time, as I moost go mit de vor." Apparently the author obtained this quotation from some source other than the newspapers, but whatever the source it was remarkably inaccurate. According to the version of the ceremony given by Stephenson, Conrad Krapf, a prominent political figure in the city, presented the New Testaments, not the Rev. Mr. Chapin, and the presentation took place on August 2, just about the time the Steuben Guards were returning from Bull Run.

⁴⁵*Michigan Argus*, May 3, 1861.

discussion a tax of \$5,000 was voted "to aid in fitting out the volunteer Companies enrolled here, and for the support of the families of those husbands and fathers who have gone into the service of their country."⁴⁶

The month of May was relatively dull compared with the last half of April. There was a change of command in the Barry Guards. Captain Barry resigned when it was learned that only one regiment in the state was to be accepted for three months. All other volunteers would have to enlist for three years. The Barry Guards expressed the resulting state of affairs thus:

While we approve of the policy of the government in thus adding permanency, as well as strength to its military defenses, it will make it necessary that the places of many of the truly patriotic citizens of the State, whose business and domestic relations are such that they cannot be spared for a protracted period without serious injury, be filled by others whose circumstances will permit.

So Captain Barry stepped down to keep his job as county clerk which he had held since 1855. Ever after he was addressed as Captain or sometimes even as Major. Lieutenant John M. Randolph was elected captain in his place. The company, however, voted to retain the name of their founder.⁴⁷ The women of the city made flannel shirts for each member of the company and upon their departure for Adrian and the Fourth Michigan Infantry's rendezvous, on May 29, each member also received a "housewife" from the ladies. Besides this, the women were working on havelocks for each man, using linen donated by White.⁴⁸ When the Barry Guards departed with the usual ceremonies and tearful good-byes, the city settled down to a relatively quiet period of waiting.

In April, however, the *Michigan State News* had expressed its impatience with the slow policy of the government. This was no time for "honeyed words and mild parrying of blows aimed at the nation's heart." A big offensive should be launched at once but it did not seem that the government was going to do it. Wistfully the paper looked at "brave old Ben Wade" and "chivalrous, daring Fremont" and "N. P. Banks, the man of iron nerve." Would Lincoln but give this stout-hearted trio their head, the rebels would soon be given "satisfactory evidences of the strength of our government, and of

⁴⁶*Michigan Argus*, May 3, 1861.

⁴⁷*Journal*, May 15, 1861.

⁴⁸*Michigan Argus*, May 31, 1861.

hempen cord."⁴⁹ Even the conservative *Journal* found Lincoln's policies lacking in energy. He

pays too much respect to what are properly regarded in time of peace as individual and State rights. In times of war like these, everything should yield to the public emergencies. . . . We want to hear of no more orders to troops to act strictly on the defensive in all cases.⁵⁰

But shortly this dissatisfaction seemed to disappear and the *Michigan State News* declared it believed the rebels had cleverly tried to force the Union army into attacking before it was ready. "We confess that our impetuous disposition was a little stirred at the seeming unnecessary delay of the Government, but we were wrong," the newspaper confessed.⁵¹ At this time a new weekly made its appearance, the *Peninsular Courier*, and in its first issue it said the

gradual and almost imperceptible invasion policy of the Government works like a charm. Slowly but surely the grand army advances, and the rebels, like a child frightened at the inflexible features of a masque, slink in terror to their hiding places.⁵²

The *Michigan State News* gave prominence to a story which purported to describe an atrocity in Kentucky where some "fugitive Union men" found a man with his ears and nose cut off and his head shaved who had been left to die along the roadside by the rebels, "the most fiendish barbarians that tread the earth."⁵³ But in general people seemed to be unworried. On the contrary, they became more confident and complacent as the summer wore on. They would have readily credited such stories as the one which appeared in the *Journal* on July 24 which reported that, because of the effect of the climate, the Southern troops, although perhaps superior to the Union troops in short little battles of a half hour or so, could not stand "the fatigues of long and rapid marches and pitched battles" as well as their northern opponents⁵⁴ had not the battle of Bull Run occurred just two days before the paper came out.

On July 30, the *Peninsular Courier* wrote,

Twelve days ago we received the announcement that the grand army of 50,000 men under Gen. McDowell had commenced the forward march.

⁴⁹*Michigan State News*, April 30, 1861.

⁵⁰*Journal*, May 1, 1861.

⁵¹*Michigan State News*, May 21, 1861.

⁵²*Peninsular Courier* (Ann Arbor), June 18, 1861.

⁵³*Michigan State News*, June 18, 1861.

⁵⁴*Journal*, July 24, 1861.

Sanguine of success we received the news with joy, and then waited to hear of nothing but victories.

Then the forces became engaged.

A respite of two days gave time to flatter our hopes and then again we heard of fighting; the enemy driven back; rebel batteries taken; and—'tis hard to believe it yet, of our forces routed and flying before the rebels.

It was not believed, at first, "but all has proved *too* true, we have suffered a defeat."⁵⁵ The *Journal* made no effort to hide the fact that the Union army lacked everything necessary for victory but, it said, even had the army been up to top standards it could not have beaten a rebel army numbering 110,000 men when the North had no more than 52,000.⁵⁶ The *Michigan State News* declared that the American people would have to bear up bravely under this terrible shock.

They must look it manfully in the face. No faltering, no whining, no impatience, no discouragement should cause the eye to waver or unfix their resolution. . . . *Mutual confidence and harmony* are the great necessities of the hour."⁵⁷

Thus Ann Arbor learned of the battle of "Bull's Run," as it was called. Undoubtedly it had a sobering effect, and for a time enlistments increased considerably. But life went on as usual. The Ann Arbor Greys (not to be confused with the Silver Greys) which had been drilling for some weeks on Tuesday and Wednesday evenings, set an example to the people of how to forget the worries of the day by taking time off to "seek health and pleasure in an excursion at Whitmore Lake." Soldiers and their wives or sweethearts made the trip in various conveyances and were greeted by the Howell Brass Band and the Lumsden brothers who sang a patriotic song. They paraded in the afternoon under the eyes of Jabez H. Fountain, quartermaster-general of Michigan during the first two years of the war. The day was concluded with a dance in the evening.⁵⁸

At about supper time on August 2 Robert Barry telegraphed from Detroit that the Steuben Guards, with the rest of the First Michigan Regiment, were in Detroit and would arrive in Ann Arbor at eight o'clock that evening. The old courthouse bell rang out and a tremendous crowd gathered. One report estimated it as high as five

⁵⁵*Peninsular Courier*, July 30, 1861.

⁵⁶*Journal*, July 31, 1861. Actually both sides had about eighteen thousand men each engaged in the battle. In total forces available the Union army considerably outnumbered that of the Confederacy.

⁵⁷*Michigan State News*, August 6, 1861.

⁵⁸*Peninsular Courier*, July 30, 1861.

thousand. All agreed that never was such a group brought together in Ann Arbor on such short notice. The Ann Arbor Greys, the home guard, and the firemen were all out in uniform waiting at the depot. At eight o'clock a train came in but it contained only a few members of the Steuben Guards. These few were deluged with questions concerning the others. Finally a second train pulled in with the rest of the company. All returned save four who were missing at Bull Run, one who was in the hospital, and another who had remained in Washington.

The hasty and hearty greetings over, the Company was escorted to the Court House Square. The coming being several days in advance of expectation the public reception in preparation was necessarily postponed, over which the wearied soldiers rejoiced.⁵⁹

A week or so later Ann Arbor saw what was probably her first evidence of the effects of war when young William M. Corselius, the member of the Steuben Guards who had been left behind in the hospital at Georgetown, came home and appeared on the streets, able to "get about though something of a cripple."⁶⁰ The suspicion began to grow that the war Ann Arbor, along with the rest of the country, had become involved in was not to be of short duration.

⁵⁹*Michigan Argus*, August 9, 1861. See also the *Journal*, August 7 and the *Courier*, August 6, 1861.

⁶⁰*Michigan State News*, August 13, 1861.

French Press in Michigan: a Bibliography

Georges J. Joyaux

THE 250TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF DETROIT, which was observed in 1951, with its reflection on the history of the state of Michigan, affords an occasion to cast light on some neglected aspects of Michigan's past.* There is no need to remind one that "all this part of the territory [the Great Lakes area], was opened to civilization by Frenchmen,"¹ but it has been generally assumed that French influence in Michigan, shattered at the time of the French defeat in 1760, lingered for almost half a century during the British period, and finally faded into oblivion when the United States actually took over the territory early in the nineteenth century.

Though in the years which followed the French defeat there never was any significant migration from France to America—and still less to the Middle West—yet French culture found its way to America through the medium of the large number of French Canadians who, in later years, migrated to the United States. In fact, "the migration of French Canadians to the United States began before the War of Independence," the Canadian fur traders and pioneers being naturally led to the Great Lakes area.² The nineteenth century witnessed a considerable increase in the number of Canadian emigrants. The increase was especially noticeable during the years following the Civil War, since it is estimated that on the whole "three-fourths [of the French Canadian immigration] took place between the years 1865 and 1890."³

Two areas seemed to have absorbed the body of these Canadian immigrants: the New England states which, besides the proximity, offered numerous opportunities of employment in their developing textile industry; and the Great Lakes area, which for many still had the appeal of the "West." In the state of Michigan the main current

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¹*Le Courrier du Michigan* (Detroit), 22 Septembre, 1937.

²*Catholic Encyclopedia*, 6:271 (New York, 1909).

³*Catholic Encyclopedia*, 6:272

of the migration was particularly directed to the Upper Peninsula and to Houghton County in particular. According to Telesphore St. Pierre, historian of the French Canadians in Michigan, "the majority of the new French Canadian immigrants were attracted by the lumber trade and the mines of Lake Superior, these two industries had replaced, since 1840, the fur trading business."⁴

A similar recognition of the importance of the French Canadian element in the northern part of the state is found in the first issue of the *Franc-Pionnier*, a French newspaper which began publication at Lake Linden in 1875. The city was then the important mining center of Houghton County, in which there were in 1870, amidst a great variety of nationalities (Finnish, German, Norwegian), "more than a thousand French Canadians."⁵ In the *Franc-Pionnier*, the organ of the French-speaking element, the editor, Charles Thiebault, declared:

The region of Lake Superior, with its fair climate, its many rivers, its picturesque nature and its rich mineral resources, has always been a great center of attraction for French Canadian youth. . . . If, today, one roams across the many communities spread on the shore of the great lake, he will, everywhere; hear French, everywhere he will see temples, monuments of faith, which will remind him of the fatherland. The whole country seems to be an arm of Canada, spreading on American ground.⁶

St. Pierre states that in 1850 there were twenty thousand persons of French origin in the state in a total of approximately four hundred thousand inhabitants. Twenty years later, due "to a considerable immigration from the province of Quebec . . . , the Canadian population in this area doubled."⁷ The number of Canadian immigrants kept on increasing in the following two decades, and St. Pierre estimates that by 1890 the number of French Canadians in the state of Michigan had more than doubled again.

Coming from a stronghold of French influence, these Canadian immigrants brought with them a way of life, a set of traditions, and a language similar in every respect to those of the earlier French settlers. It is clear today that the Canadian element in Michigan's population has been thoroughly assimilated; it is difficult, indeed, to

⁴Telesphore St. Pierre, *Histoire des Canadiens du Michigan*, 221 (Montreal, 1895).

⁵St. Pierre, *Histoire*, 224.

⁶*Le Franc-Pionnier* (Lake Linden), 10 Mai, 1875.

⁷St. Pierre, *Histoire*, 220.

think of a better, more complete success of the American melting pot. Yet, the assimilation was not accomplished without some friction and struggle.

The few historians of the subject, among whom St. Pierre and Alexandre Belisle are most prominent, declare that more than two hundred periodicals—magazines and newspapers—were issued in French for the use of the French Canadian population in the United States. In the introduction to Belisle's *Histoire de la Presse Franco Canadienne aux Etats-Unis*, J. B. Le Boutillier declares: "Surely one had no idea of the number of newspapers published in French, which sprang forth and died on American soil."⁸ Belisle, whose book is the best treatment of this aspect of American history, held the publications of the Franco-Canadians in high esteem. Summing up their significance, he concluded that

If one could judge the degree of literary culture of the nation through its publications, one should admit that the French Canadian [element] in the United States has proved to be one of the most intellectual groups, for many a newspaper published in French appeared and flourished in America during a period of twenty-five to thirty years, and died eventually, after a career more or less long and more or less troubled.⁹

Two years earlier, an article on the "French Catholics in the United States" published in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* stated: "In fifty years, the French Canadian immigrants have built up a press that is not surpassed, from the Catholic point of view, by that of any other group of immigrants in the United States."¹⁰

Next to the New England states, Franco-American immigration and influence seem to have been greatest in the Great Lakes area. In the state of Michigan alone, at least thirty-three periodicals were published during the period 1809-1919. As might be expected, by reason of considerable French Canadian immigration during the 1870's and 1880's, these publications are chiefly concentrated in those two decades: "The period which seems to have been the most fruitful for the foundation of French newspapers in the United States was from 1873 to 1893."¹¹

⁸Alexandre Belisle, *Histoire de la Presse Franco Canadienne aux Etats-Unis*, preface (Worcester, 1911).

⁹Belisle, *Histoire*, 1.

¹⁰*Catholic Encyclopedia*, 6:275

¹¹Belisle, *Histoire*, 25.

This article is essentially aimed at attracting attention to a forgotten aspect of the history of Michigan; that is, the French press, its influence, distribution, and function. The bibliographical list included below does not pretend to be complete or accurate. In most cases I have been unable to locate all the newspapers, and when they were located, only a few issues were found to have been preserved.

The lack of evidence accounts, no doubt, for our general ignorance of the subject. It is hoped, however, that this brief bibliographical listing will bring about a renewal of interest in the history of the French Canadians in Michigan, and in their contributions to the development of the state. The list of periodicals included, incomplete as it is, bears out St. Pierre's contention that, though after 1760 "the French flag no longer waved over Michigan soil [yet], the French race had not said its last word."¹²

L'AMI DE LA JEUNESSE. A weekly paper published in Detroit in 1843. It was edited by Edouard N. Lacroix, "a young Canadian of talent who had just arrived from Quebec."¹³ According to Silas Farmer the paper was "first issued on May 23rd, 1843,"¹⁴ However, the next number, the only one available, is dated June 24, 1843. Apparently the paper was not very successful, for its publication ended after a few months—four according to Belisle, or after the ninth number according to Farmer.¹⁵

THE ANTI-ROMAN ADVOCATE. See *L'IMPARTIAL*.

LE CITOYEN. JOURNAL POLITIQUE, RELIGIEUX, LITTÉRAIRE ET DES FAMILLES. A weekly paper published every Saturday in Detroit. The first issue is dated May 4, 1850. The editor was the same Edouard N. Lacroix who started *L'Ami de la Jeunesse*. L. J. Paulin was the owner. Farmer, who dates the first issue May 11,¹⁶ and Belisle both declare that the paper ran six months. However Belisle adds, "After a few weeks, the publication was resumed under the ownership of Charles J. Dossin, with Urban Adam as an editor."¹⁷ The paper seems to have disappeared completely in June, 1851.

¹²St. Pierre, *Histoire*, 220.

¹³St. Pierre, *Histoire*, 216.

¹⁴Silas Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, 1:674 (Detroit, 1884).

¹⁵Belisle, *Histoire*, 27; Farmer, *History of Detroit*, 1:674.

¹⁶Farmer, *History of Detroit*, 1:671.

¹⁷Belisle, *Histoire*, 27.

According to the first issue of the paper, it was intended to be "a newspaper devoted to the interests of the French Canadians." In it the editor expressed his fear concerning the future of the French Canadians: "Each day, we see our nationality fade away, for, adopting the language of the country of adoption, we consequently neglect our own tongue." Furthermore, Lacroix adds, his newspaper is a cultural necessity, since "the French Canadians, the first pioneers of the West, are the only immigrants not to publish a paper in the mother tongue."¹⁸

LE COMBAT. Information concerning this weekly paper is very scanty. Laval University, Quebec, holds two issues (numbers 24 and 28) of a newspaper with this name, published in Detroit in 1891. These two issues indicate that the paper was then in the eighth year of its publication, and that it was owned and edited by Telesphore St. Pierre. Apparently, St. Pierre had just succeeded Elzear Paquin, whose name is also connected with several other similar enterprises.

From various biographical sources, it appears that St. Pierre took over *Le Combat* early in 1891 soon after resigning a similar position with *L'Union Franco-Américaine* of Lake Linden. Furthermore, it does not seem that he remained long in his new position, since early in the 1890's Belisle declares, "St. Pierre gave up journalism entirely, to devote all his time to his great work, the history of the Canadians of Michigan,"¹⁹ which he published in 1895.

As in the case of the bulk of the French Canadian publications in America, this newspaper was strongly Catholic, and the motto inscribed under the title, "Par ce signe tu vaincras"²⁰ (Through this sign you will win), left no doubt as to its religious leanings.

The two numbers available also enlighten us on one of the main points of dissension between the French Canadian settlers in Michigan and the American authorities. Commenting on the priests sent to the territory by the eastern bishops, one of the contributors to *Le Combat* declared:

The priests have at times half of their parishes, and even sometimes three-quarters of them, composed of French Canadians, and by reason of

¹⁸*Le Citoyen* (Detroit), 4 Mai, 1850.

¹⁹Belisle, *Histoire*, 123.

²⁰*Le Combat* (Detroit), 1891.

the principle of the Americanization these priests do not say one word of French in church except when they want to announce a collection.²¹

LE COURIER. No copy of this newspaper has yet been located. According to Clarence M. Burton, it was a literary weekly which began October 12, 1876. From the same source, we learn that the paper soon changed its name to *Le Journal de Detroit*, and that by the end of 1877 the paper was definitely discontinued.²² Belisle declares that *Le Courier* ran four months and that it was owned by Alfred Beaudin and Louis C. Dumont, while the editor was Achille Fournier.²³

Further evidence of the existence of this paper is found in contemporary issues of the *Detroit Free Press*. In 1876 the *Free Press* of October 29, explained:

A French paper. *Le Courier* is the name of a French paper published weekly in this city as the organ of those of French nationality in the West. It is a twenty-column sheet, neatly printed, and makes its bow under the auspices of the Courier Publishing Company, at the corner of Jefferson and Bates street.²⁴

Two months later, a further explanatory note in the same paper read:

A new French journal. A weekly newspaper in the French language, styled *Le Courier*, which has now reached its twelfth number, is published in this city. It contains an entertaining variety of news and miscellany, including a continued story by one of the most noted French authors, and pays special attention to the local news of Detroit and vicinity. The newspaper is a meritorious one and deserves encouragement. To English readers also, who contemplate the study of the French language, it will prove invaluable. We trust the readers of *Le Courier* will heed this admonition which we extract from its columns:

"Si nos concitoyens veulent que *Le Courier* devienne, un jour, un grand journal comme le *Free Press*, il faut qu'ils nous aident dans le commencement, en payant généreusement et promptement (*sic*) leurs abonnements." (If our countrymen want to see *Le Courier* become some day a great newspaper like the *Free Press*, they must help us right at the beginning by paying generously and promptly, their subscriptions).²⁵

²¹*Le Combat* (Detroit), 1891.

²²Clarence M. Burton, *The City of Detroit*, 1:832 (Detroit, 1922).

²³Belisle, *Histoire*, 30.

²⁴*Detroit Free Press*, October 29, 1876.

²⁵*Detroit Free Press*, December 29, 1876.

LE COURIER DE BAY CITY. Although this newspaper is mentioned by neither Belisle nor St. Pierre, in the *Michigan Manual* for the years 1897-98, and 1899-1900, it is listed as a weekly, appearing on Saturdays.²⁶

LE COURIER DU DIMANCHE. According to the *Michigan Manual* for the years 1897-98, 1899-1900 and 1901-1902, *Le Courier du Dimanche* was a weekly published in Bay City. Up to and including 1899 the paper appeared every Thursday. Later it came out on Tuesdays.²⁷

LE COURRIER. The *Michigan Manual* discloses that from 1879 to 1889 there appeared on Fridays in Bay City a weekly paper called *Le Courrier*.²⁸ According to Belisle, the paper started in 1878 and ran only three years. The Bay City Public Library holds a set of this paper for the period January 12 to December 13, 1884.²⁹ The most valuable reference to this paper appears in a history of the Lake Huron shore. In this work the author declares that

Le Courrier was established in 1878 by J. L. Harquell, the present editor and owner. Mr. Harquell is a native of New Brunswick, and a lawyer by profession. . . He practised law two years at Albany, one year at St. Paul, Minn., and in 1877 located in Bay City, where he practised law about a year. Soon after coming here, he bought the Saginaw *Greenbacker*, which he published a short time, and in 1878 established *Le Courrier*, which was the first French paper in the Saginaw valley. In 1879 he established *Le (sic) Tribune* at Detroit, which he sold two years later, when he started *La (sic) Messenger* at Muskegon, which he still continues.³⁰

J. L. Harquell offers a good example of those Canadian immigrants who, like St. Pierre and Elzear Paquin, devoted their lives to the good of their fellow men, and undertook in several places to give them the intellectual spur they needed to maintain their traditions.

²⁶*Michigan Manual* for 1897-98, 169 (Lansing, 1897); *Michigan Manual* for 1899-1900, 235 (Lansing, 1899).

²⁷*Michigan Manual* for 1897-98, 169; *Michigan Manual* for 1899-1900, 235; *Michigan Manual* for 1901-1902, 224 (Lansing, 1901).

²⁸*Michigan Manual*, 337 (Lansing, 1879); *Michigan Manual*, 296 (Lansing, 1881); *Michigan Manual*, 301 (Lansing, 1883); *Michigan Manual*, 308 (Lansing, 1885); *Michigan Manual*, 377 (Lansing, 1887); *Michigan Manual*, 310 (Lansing, 1889).

²⁹Ann Ballou, librarian of the Bay City Public Library, to the Michigan Historical Commission, August 4, 1952; Belisle, *Histoire*, 30; Winifred Gregory, *Union List of Periodicals*, 306 (New York, 1937).

³⁰*History of the Lake Huron Shore*, 96 (Chicago, 1883).

LE COURRIER DU MICHIGAN. A monthly periodical originating in Lake Linden, where it was published from 1912 to 1919, moving that year to Detroit, where it is still published. Of all the French papers published in this territory, *Le Courrier du Michigan* has had the longest run. It is, furthermore, the "only American newspaper printed in the French language in the Great Lakes region."³¹

According to Pierre Eudore Mayrand, the editor of the paper, *Le Courrier* was founded in 1912 and "it has been 'existing' till now . . . , [due to] the labor of only one man."³²

The only issue examined for this study, that of September 22, 1937, was devoted to the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the paper. A contributor, Adolphe Robert, declared:

It was in August 1912, that *Le Courrier* . . . originated in Lake Linden, in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan . . . ; *Le Courrier* has kept on, but it is almost the only one to keep on, what happened to the achievements accomplished three centuries ago by the Cadillacs, the Marquettes, and the La Salles? What became of the various parishes, schools, societies, in which so much hope was placed for the future of the French Americans of Michigan? What became of all the papers in the French language established in this state?³³

Indeed by 1937 not much was left of the French in Michigan. All the newspapers in French mentioned in this list except *Le Courrier* had disappeared, and none had sprung forth to take their place. Yet, some very few French Canadians, among them the staff of *Le Courrier*, refused to admit that the struggle had come to an end, and that the American melting pot had won another decisive victory. Thus, Robert, still hoping for the future, added:

Yet, *Le Courrier* does not intend to toll the knell for French culture during this anniversary! It is rather an awakening, a return to the traditional principles which made the strength of the French Canadians and which maintain the French way of life in western Canada, in Acadia, in New England. Otherwise, it will be the end, and indeed, a hardly honorable one.³⁴

DETROIT GAZETTE. Though not the earliest in date, the *Detroit Gazette* was the first newspaper of any permanence published in Michigan Territory. Starting on July 25, 1817, it ran "as a fairly

³¹So it is stated on the letter head of *Le Courrier du Michigan*.

³²Letter from Pierre Eudore Mayrand to the author.

³³*Le Courrier du Michigan* (Lake Linden), September 22, 1937.

³⁴*Le Courrier du Michigan*, September 22, 1937.

successful publication until fire destroyed the printing office in the later part of April, 1830."³⁵ The last number is dated April 22, 1830.

The paper was not published in French for the thirteen years of its publication. It was essentially from the start an American enterprise founded by John P. Sheldon and Ebenezer Reed, official printers to the territory. In an effort to secure the patronage of French-speaking as well as English-speaking people, summaries of the pertinent articles were printed in French on the fourth and last page of the publication. The editors explained their attitude in the first issue:

The editors of the *Detroit Gazette*, considering that the larger part of the inhabitants of the territory are French and that the majority of them does not understand English very well, knowing furthermore that several of their English readers like, with reason, the French language, announce to all their subscribers, that they intend to reserve two or three columns for the printing, in French, in each number of the *Gazette*, an abridgment of the most interesting events which take place in Europe, as well as the discoveries useful to agriculture and applied arts, and a large variety of amusing and instructive extracts.³⁶

The experiment, however, did not prove successful, and before the end of the year the French column was abandoned. Surprisingly enough, since it is one of the oldest, the paper has been preserved and the Public Library at Grand Rapids holds a complete photostatic file.

LE DEVOIR. Another short-lived French newspaper published on Fridays at Muskegon, started on May 8, 1890; the last number appeared on November 6 of the same year. The owner was Elie Vezina, a Canadian, who "had left his home [Quebec] in February, 1890, to settle in Muskegon."³⁷ The editor was J. Edouard Rochon. In the prospectus included in the first issue, the editor declared:

We are American subjects . . . , and as such we shall remain devoted to the Constitution of the United States, faithful to the starred flag, and submissive to legitimate authorities. . . . French by origin . . . , we shall preserve religiously the traditions of our fathers, their manners and customs, in our families we shall speak French while studying the language of the country.³⁸

³⁵Ralph Leslie Rusk, *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier*, 1:65 (New York, 1926).

³⁶*Detroit Gazette*, July 25, 1817.

³⁷Belisle, *Histoire*, 302-3.

³⁸*Le Devoir* (Muskegon), 8 Mai, 1890.

A comparatively large section of the paper was devoted to literature, and among other less important figures there appeared in various issues poems from Victor Hugo and Francois Coppe, well-known French poets, and a short story from the pen of Guy de Maupassant, the great French novelist of the nineteenth century.

L'ECHO DES ÉTATS-UNIS. The sole evidence for the existence of this periodical is in Belisle's *Histoire*. He declares that the paper was published in Detroit in 1883, and that it ran for six months under the editorship of Louis C. Dumont,³⁹ whose name has already been encountered in relation to *Le Courier* (Detroit).

L'ÉTOILE CANADIENNE. A weekly paper, published in Detroit every Thursday. The first number was dated January 19, 1871, and according to Farmer, "it lived just a year."⁴⁰ Besides Farmer, evidence of the existence of this paper is found in a contemporary issue of the *Detroit Free Press*:

L'Étoile Canadienne. This is the name of a journal recently published in this city as the organ of the French American people of the West, under the management and editorial conduct of Joseph A. Ouelette and James A. Girardin. It is devoted to political, literary, agricultural, commercial and general news, and bears evidence of care and labor in its editorial and mechanical aspects. The third number is just out.⁴¹

FRANCAIS POUR TOUS. No reference to this publication has been found other than this brief statement from Clarence M. Burton's *City of Detroit*: "a literary and educational publication now issued monthly except July and August, [which] was established in 1919 by the Alliance Française (*sic*) and is now issued by the French Publishing Company."⁴²

LE FRANC-PIONNIER: ORGANE DE LA POPULATION FRANCAISE DU LAC SUPERIEUR. This weekly paper was published from June to December 1875, in Lake Linden. It was edited by Francois X. Thibault, "a young man from Montreal,"⁴³ with the assistance of James A. Rooney. It was the first of a relatively long series of newspapers

³⁹Belisle, *Histoire*, 31.

⁴⁰Farmer, *History of Detroit*, 1:678.

⁴¹*Detroit Free Press*, February 26, 1871.

⁴²Burton, *The City of Detroit*, 1:832.

⁴³Belisle, *Histoire*, 122.

published in this area, strong proof of the importance of the French-speaking element in the Upper Peninsula.

In the first issue the editor, Thibault, explaining the aims of the paper, called on his countrymen to unite in order to halt the vanishing of the Franco-Canadians as a cultural group:

Isolated, dispersed, living in small groups throughout the vast expanse of land, we lack the main element of strength, that is union. We let ourselves be submerged without resisting, and the nation which contemptfully crushes us, dominates us only by its superior organization. . . . It dictates because no one challenges its right to do so. It accuses us of ignorance because we accept everything in silence.

Yet, to do what honor requires of us, to exercise our legitimate share of political influence, we only need to want it. We have for us our number, our intelligence, our enterprising spirit; we even have the government of the union which, by offering us an asylum, has thus guaranteed our freedom. What is lacking therefore, is an organ. . . .⁴⁴

LA GAZETTE FRANCAISE. A semi-monthly paper, published in Detroit. The first number appeared October 31, 1825, and before the end of the year the publication came to an end. Farmer, who refers to this publication as the first French newspaper in the territory, further declares: "It was in 8o form . . .; issued the first and third week of each month, at \$1.50 a year."⁴⁵

In the first number, the editor, Ebenezer Reed, who earlier had founded the *Detroit Gazette*, stated:

The editor requests the patrons of the *Gazette* to recollect that this is only a venture, and it depends a great deal upon their generosity if it will continue or not. They must not borrow the *Gazette* from their neighbors. If they wish the editor to continue to publish, they must all subscribe.⁴⁶

According to St. Pierre and Belisle, both of whom mention the newspaper, there appeared only four numbers; Farmer declares that only three issues were published. At any rate, no copy of the periodical has been discovered so far.

L'IMPARTIAL. A weekly paper, published intermittently in Detroit from November 20, 1869, to August, 1870. This paper, edited by Mederic Lancot, was "the organ of the League for the Independence

⁴⁴*Le Franc-Pionnier* (Lake Linden), 10 Mai, 1875.

⁴⁵Farmer, *History of Detroit*, 1:672.

⁴⁶*La Gazette Française* (Detroit), October 31, 1825.

of Canada,"⁴⁷ an organization founded the same year in the United States.

St. Pierre and Belisle disagree as to the place of publication of the first issue of the paper. According to the historian of the Canadians in Michigan, *L'Impartial* was originally published in Detroit,⁴⁸ while Belisle maintains that the first issue appeared in Worcester, Massachusetts, and that the paper was then "transported to Detroit, Michigan, where it lived only five weeks."⁴⁹ Belisle further declares that, "It was a very fine paper, well edited and well printed, in French and in English; each column of material was accompanied by its translation in the next column."⁵⁰ Both writers, however, agree that the publication lasted five weeks.

After abandoning the project, Lanctot resumed his journalistic activities in the same city, Detroit, and in March, 1870, launched *The Anti-Roman Advocate*, on a similarly short-lived career. In the meantime, a great change occurred in Lanctot's religious affiliation, and in his second journalistic venture, he undertook to promote the ideas of Charles Paschal Telesphore Chiniquy.⁵¹ St. Pierre, who does not conceal his pleasure at the very short life of the *Advocate*, declares that in August, 1870, Lanctot discontinued the paper and returned to Canada, "where he had the good fortune of regaining his forefathers' faith."⁵²

LE JOURNAL DE DETROIT. See LE COURIER.

LE MESSENGER. I have been unable to find any information concerning this newspaper. In his *Histoire de la Presse Franco-Canadienne aux États-Unis*, however, Belisle mentions a newspaper with this title, "published in Muskegon and founded by J. L. Harquell." Apparently, according to Belisle, it was one edition of the Bay City *Courrier*.⁵³

⁴⁷St. Pierre, *Histoire*, 243.

⁴⁸St. Pierre, *Histoire*, 243.

⁴⁹Belisle, *Histoire*, 28.

⁵⁰Belisle, *Histoire*, 22.

⁵¹*Encyclopedia of Canada*. Edited by W. Stewart Wallace, 2:49 (Toronto, 1935).

⁵²St. Pierre, *Histoire*, 246.

⁵³Belisle, *Histoire*, 30.

LE MESSENGER. It might be presumed that we are dealing with the same paper as the preceding one; however, in view of the lack of information concerning either one, it is well to enter them separately. There appeared two references to this paper. In the *Michigan Manual* for 1885,⁵⁴ and 1887-88,⁵⁵ mention is made of a weekly paper called *Le Messenger*, published every Friday in Muskegon. The second reference, already mentioned, in respect to the Bay City *Courrier*, was found in the *History of the Lake Huron Shore*, and suggested that *Le Messenger*, established in Muskegon in 1881 by J. L. Harquell, was still published there in 1883, the date of publication of the *History*.⁵⁶

MICHIGAN ESSAY OR IMPARTIAL OBSERVER. This paper, published in 1809 in Detroit, was the first periodical ever published in the territory. For a long time it was believed Father Gabriel Richard was the editor, since in 1809 "he had brought to Detroit from Boston, the first printing press ever to be established in the West."⁵⁷ Later researchers, however, have established the fact that the editor was Jacques Miller, of Ithaca, New York.⁵⁸

The paper was intended for the English-speaking element of the population; however, out of the four pages of four columns each, one and a half columns of the last page were printed in the French language. Apparently the venture was not very successful and soon was abandoned; in the various sources mentioning this paper, four issues is the highest number ever given.

LE MONITEUR FRANCAIS. A weekly paper published on Saturdays in Detroit. The paper first appeared on November 18, 1909, and ran about a year.

L'OUEST FRANCAIS. In the *Michigan Manual* for 1889-90, mention is made of *Le Oust François*, (sic) a weekly paper published on Fridays in Bay City.⁵⁹ The newspaper was founded in June, 1888, by Telephore St. Pierre and Charles Guerin. Guerin wrote later:

I had a brother who was a curate somewhere in Michigan . . . ; not

⁵⁴*Michigan Manual* for 1885, 308.

⁵⁵*Michigan Manual* for 1887-88, 377.

⁵⁶*History of the Lake Huron Shore*, 96.

⁵⁷St. Pierre, *Histoire*, 193.

⁵⁸Rusk, *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier*, 1:142.

⁵⁹*Michigan Manual* for 1889-90, 310.

knowing what to do with me, he told me, "You are going to be a newspaperman. If you are intelligent, you will succeed; if you are not, well, you will be a brick layer." Thus, I was placed at the head of a paper called *L'Ouest Français*. Fortunately, I had St. Pierre with me.⁶⁰

However, unfortunately for the paper, St. Pierre "abandoned the paper two months later, to direct, in the state of Michigan, the democratic campaign in favor of the candidacy of Grover Cleveland."⁶¹ Guerin alone was not a very successful editor, and as he said, "... without experience, without money, without any friend, I toiled for eleven months, and I finally sank."⁶²

Not much is known of the contents of the paper itself, for no copy has yet been discovered. Yet, in Belisle's *Histoire de la Presse Franco-Canadienne aux États-Unis*, there is a photostatic copy of the first page of the volume one, number two issue of the paper. This issue dated Friday, August 24, 1888, lists the various distributors of the paper in the territory, thus giving us an idea of the repartition of the French elements in the area: Alpena, Muskegon, Cheboygan, Marquette, Ishpeming.

L'OUËST FRANÇAIS. A weekly paper published in 1908 in Detroit. No references to this periodical have been found in the sources previously mentioned. The Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library holds numbers three and five of a paper with this name, dated October 9 and October 23, 1908. According to these two issues, the editor was Oswald La Belle.

LE PATRIOTE. A long-lived weekly newspaper published intermittently from February, 1880 to 1904 in Bay City. There is no agreement on the data of this periodical in the different sources which mention it. Belisle, giving a brief sketch of the history of the paper, declares:

Le Patriote (Bay City) founded in November, 1882, by Dr. Maucatel with H. A. Pacaud as editor. *Le Patriote* was one of the longest lived of the western newspapers, for it was published until the year 1891, a span of nine years, when its publication was suspended. Some time later, *Le Patriote* revived with Adolphe Beaudin as editor. It ended definitely in 1904."⁶³

⁶⁰Belisle, *Histoire*, 253.

⁶¹Belisle, *Histoire*, 293.

⁶²Belisle, *Histoire*, 253.

⁶³Belisle, *Histoire*, 117.

In the *History of the Lake Huron Shore*, it is said, "*Le Patriote* was established in February, 1880, by H. A. Pacaud, its present editor and owner. It is the largest French paper in the state, and has already attained a position of commanding influence."⁶⁴

* Charles Guerin, whose name is associated with *L'Ouest Français* (Bay City), and *L'Union Franco-Américaine* (Lake Linden) was also a contributor to this periodical. He wrote, in an account of his life: "A few months before the foundation of *L'Union*, I had been working at the redaction of *Le Patriote* of Bay City, whose owner paid me in compliments."⁶⁵ On the whole, it is generally acknowledged that *Le Patriote* was a well-conducted newspaper, very influential in shaping the opinion of the French-speaking element in the Bay City area. Except *Le Courrier du Michigan*, which started in 1912, *Le Patriote* had the longest run of all the French newspapers published in Michigan.

LE PETIT JOURNAL. A weekly periodical, published on Sundays in Detroit. According to the *Michigan Manual*, the only source which mentions the paper, it was published for nearly three years, from the first months of 1914 to October, 1916.⁶⁶

PETIT JOURNAL DE LA PENSEE FRANCAISE. This weekly paper was published in Detroit every Tuesday. As *Le Petit Journal*, it is listed in the *Michigan Manual*, and its dates, 1916-October, 1918, suggest that it was the continuation of *Le Petit Journal*.⁶⁷

LE PEUPLE. A weekly publication appearing every Wednesday in Bay City circa 1890. The only evidence of the existence of the paper is found in the *Michigan Manual* for 1893-94.⁶⁸

LA REVUE CANADIENNE DE L'OUEST. A monthly periodical established in Ludington in 1884. The first number is dated January, 1884, but nothing is known as to when the publication was discontinued. The editor was the Rev. L. P. Paquin. Stating the aims of

⁶⁴*History of the Lake Huron Shore*, 96-97.

⁶⁵Belisle, *Histoire*, 253.

⁶⁶*Michigan Manual for 1915 and 1916*, 354 (Lansing, 1915); *Michigan Manual for 1917 and 1918*, 363 (Lansing, 1917).

⁶⁷*Michigan Manual for 1917 and 1918*, 363; *Michigan Manual for Years 1919 and 1920*, 374 (Lansing, 1919).

⁶⁸*Michigan Manual for 1893-94*, 517 (Lansing, 1893).

the magazine, he declared in the first issue that it intended

... to offer to families, materials for good reading, chosen from the fields of the healthy French and Franco-Canadian literatures; to treat the various questions which most interest the Catholics; to give a summary of the most striking news from Europe, Canada and this country.⁶⁹

Furthermore, as proof that he was merely following in the path of the previous Franco-Canadian journalistic ventures, the editor declared, "the review will most particularly follow the development of Catholicism in the western part of the United States."⁷⁰

On the whole, the publication is strongly reminiscent of eighteenth and nineteenth century almanacs; among its religious-minded short stories, the review included an elementary chemistry course, a medical section, a few pages devoted to practical hygienic directions, and a train schedule.

LA SENTINELLE. A weekly paper published every Saturday in Marquette. The first number appeared in July, 1888, and according to Belisle, the publication lasted thirteen months.⁷¹ The editor and owner was J. L. Harquell, who was associated with *Le Courrier* (Bay City) and *Le Messager* (Muskegon). According to Belisle, one edition of this paper under a different name, *La Tribune*, was published in Marinette, Wisconsin.⁷² So far as is known, there are no available copies of this newspaper.

LE SOUVENIR. A weekly periodical published in Bay City under the editorship of Celestin Boucher. According to Belisle, the only source of information concerning it, the paper started at the end of April, 1883, and ran about two months.⁷³

LA TRIBUNE. A weekly newspaper which appeared briefly in Detroit in 1889. Belisle, whose *Histoire de la Presse Franco-Canadienne aux États-Unis* contains the only reference to this paper, declares: "*La Tribune* started in April, 1889, and lived for a short time."⁷⁴

⁶⁹*La Revue Canadienne de l'Ouest* (Ludington), Janvier, 1884.

⁷⁰*La Revue Canadienne*, Janvier, 1884.

⁷¹Belisle, *Histoire*, 33.

⁷²Belisle, *Histoire*, 33.

⁷³Belisle, *Histoire*, 31.

⁷⁴Belisle, *Histoire*, 33.

LA TRIBUNE. Not much is known concerning this ephemeral French newspaper. Belisle does not mention it in his list of French periodical publications in the United States. Yet, at Laval University, there are two issues of the paper: volume I, numbers 1 and 2, dated February 4, and February 18, 1892. It does not appear that the paper continued after these two numbers. From them we learn that the paper was published in Saginaw, under the editorship and ownership of A. Bechard.

In the first issue, Bechard acknowledged that the paper was "sincerely and openly Roman Catholic."⁷⁵ Its publication, he felt, was necessary to prevent French Canadians from losing entirely their national traits; and as he said to his readers:

Learn English as an indispensable tongue, particularly in the United States, but maintain with love, in your families and among yourselves, the French language, this beautiful idiom of our ancestors and the language, *par excellence*, of all the scholars in the whole world.⁷⁶

L'UNION FRANCO-AMERICAINE. A weekly publication published on Thursdays in Lake Linden from 1889 to 1891. This paper was founded in September, 1889, by a "private company with a capital of \$10,000." The first number, according to Belisle, appeared in September, 1889, but volume one, number two—available at Laval University with a few other issues—is dated January 9, 1890.

Telephone St. Pierre was the editor of the paper for the first eleven months of its career. He was then replaced by J. E. Rochon, "who had left *Le Patriote* of Bay City."⁷⁷ According to Charles Guerin, once the editor of *L'Ouest Français* (Bay City), he was himself at one time in charge of *L'Union*. He wrote:

I went a few months later (following the failure of *L'Ouest Français*) to Lake Linden, where St. Pierre had just started *L'Union*. I remained alone in charge of this paper some months later, attempting to create love for our beautiful French language; censuring indignantly the Canadian youth who thought to act with distinction when they spoke, or tried to speak a language which was not its own.⁷⁸

From the various issues which have been studied, it appears that this paper was the best French Canadian publication in the territory.

⁷⁵*La Tribune* (Saginaw), February 4, 1892.

⁷⁶*La Tribune* (Saginaw), February 4, 1892.

⁷⁷Belisle, *Histoire*, 123.

⁷⁸Belisle, *Histoire*, 253.

It gives a very favorable impression of the journalistic talents of *Telephore St. Pierre*, and furthermore fully justifies *Belisle's* assertion that *St. Pierre's* sole objective in life was "to awaken the French idea, the proudness of the race, by reminding the French Canadian settlers of their origin, of the heroic struggles of their ancestors for the conservation of their language, their mores, and their faith."⁷⁹

To fulfill his aim *St. Pierre* published in every issue a biographical sketch of a French historical figure, naturally one closely associated with Canada's own past. Thus, in the second issue, *Jacques Cartier*, "the discoverer of Canada," was introduced,⁸⁰ while in the third issue, it was *Samuel Champlain*, "the founder of Quebec." The history of Canada, *St. Pierre* felt, "has too long been neglected . . . , and it was time to teach Canadian youth the virtues and the accomplishments of their forefathers."⁸¹

St. Pierre kept himself well informed of contemporary political developments in Canada. Thus several issues of the paper were devoted to a discussion of the *Dalton McCarthy* bill to abolish the official use of the French language in the Northwest. *St. Pierre* strongly opposed it, aware "that it was only the first step towards the complete abolition of the use of French in Canada."⁸²

Another of *St. Pierre's* targets was the anglicizing of French Canadian proper names. Thus he wrote:

. . . presently, a rather large number of our countrymen, some due to ignorance or indifference, others purposefully, and with the desire to falsify their origin anglicize their family names so as to make them unrecognizable. This practise is authorized by no usage whatsoever and, furthermore, is unworthy of honest people.⁸³

St. Pierre's range of interest was wide, and consequently *belles lettres* were not neglected in his publication. Short stories, generally from French or French Canadian writers, others translated from the English original; poetry; excerpts from travelogues found their way into his publication, lending some support to his boast that it was "the only and recognized organ of fifty thousand French speaking people in northern Wisconsin and Michigan."⁸⁴

⁷⁹*Belisle, Histoire*, 293.

⁸⁰*L'Union Franco-Américaine* (Lake Linden), 9 Janvier, 1890.

⁸¹*L'Union*, 16 Janvier, 1890.

⁸²*L'Union Franco-Américaine* (Lake Linden), 27 Fevrier, 1890.

⁸³*L'Union, Franco-Américaine* (Lake Linden), 3 Avril, 1890.

LA VIE. A weekly paper published in Marquette, *circa* 1890. Nothing is known concerning this periodical. The only reference occurs in the Rev. T. Ouimet's biography of Dr. Elzear Paquin, the editor of this paper and of *Le Combat* (Detroit). "He founded *Combat* in Chicago on February 19, 1889. . . . A few months later, at Marquette, Michigan, Dr. Paquin revived from its ashes *Le Combat* under the name of *La Vie*. This new paper only existed six months."⁸⁵

⁸⁴*L'Union*, 9 Janvier, 1890.

⁸⁵Belisle, *Histoire*, 285.

The Michigan Board of Corrections and Charities

Temple B. Lewis

THROUGHOUT THE PERIOD OF THE LATE NINETEENTH and early twentieth centuries the state of Michigan set a pace in social welfare which was to serve as a pattern for other states to follow.¹ Much of the credit for the state's predominance in this field is due the Michigan Board of Corrections and Charities. This board was created by the state legislature on April 17, 1871, and was abolished by the same body in 1921. The act, entitled "An Act to Provide for the Appointment of a Board of Commissioners for the General Supervision of Penal, Pauper, and Reform Institutions and Define Their Powers and Duties," instructed the governor to appoint three suitable persons, increased to four in 1873, who were to be residents of the state, to be called the Board of State Commissioners for the General Supervision of Charitable, Penal, Pauper, and Reformatory Institutions.² In 1879 the name of this board was changed to the Board of Corrections and Charities.

The duties of this board were carefully stated in section 3 of the board's organic act as follows:

The said commissioners, by one of their number, or by their secretary [the only salaried member], shall, at least once in each year, visit and examine into the condition of each and every of the city and county poor houses, county jails, or other places for the detention of criminals or witnesses; and the said board, or a majority thereof, with their secretary, shall, at least once in each year, visit and examine the Reform School, State Prison, Detroit House of Correction, and state and county asylums for the insane, and the deaf, dumb, and blind, for the purpose of ascertaining the actual condition of the institutions by them or by either of them visited, the method of instruction, government, or management

¹Homer Folks to Fred M. Warner, May 8, 1909, in the records of the Board of Corrections and Charities in the possession of the Michigan Historical Commission.

²*Session Laws of the Michigan Legislature, 1871, Act 192. (Lansing, 1871).*

therein pursued, the official conduct of the superintendents or other officers and employees in their charge, or connected therewith, the condition of the buildings, grounds, or other property there unto belonging, and the facts as to all other matters in any manner pertaining to the usefulness and proper management of the institutions, poor houses, and jails above named.³

In fulfilling their duties under this act, the members of the board traveled around the state spending a day, or part of a day, investigating or inspecting the state institutions which fell under their jurisdiction. On many occasions they were sent out to a particular institution by the governor to investigate conditions which were reported by inmates or interested members of a community. An instance of how the board functioned is provided by an investigation of the Ingham County Poor House in 1888. Apparently Governor Cyrus G. Luce had received complaints of this institution, for he ordered an investigation by the Board of Corrections and Charities.

Commissioner James M. Neasmith reported for the board that in accordance with the governor's request for an investigation into scandals at the Ingham County Poor House, the board at its meeting held on Thursday, February 2 had appointed him to that task. In attending to that duty Neasmith stated that "I visited the poor house on Friday the 3rd inst. and found the house in charge of Mary Ann Hammond." The commissioner noted that Mr. and Mrs. Brady, the keeper and matron were absent. He "at once proceeded to look over the building," and along the way conversed "with nearly all the inmates." These inmates he found "with but a single exception, well pleased with their food, care, and comfortable quarters." He pointed out that this one woman, who was in poor health, said that "at times when she was feeling badly the food furnished, while wholesome and fairly well prepared," and which "were she well, would be good enough" was "in her present state of health and the condition of her system" "too hearty for her and many times she could not eat." Besides the heartiness of the food she complained that "the time between meals was long, causing her much discomfort." The commissioner noted here that only two meals a day were served during the winter, "for those inmates who are in the house, breakfast at 7 A.M. and dinner at 2 P.M." Neasmith wrote that he thought "the attention

³*Session Laws of 1871, Act 192.* Although the act was amended several times, the duties of the board remained the same.

of the Keeper and Matron should be called to this matter and more attention paid to the wants and necessities of the sick, and hope the superintendent will see to it."

Commenting further on the attitude of the inmates the commissioner wrote that "the inmates with this single exception, as stated above, expressed" to him their satisfaction and thankfulness that "they were so well provided with good comfortable homes. Some of them saying it is much better than I expected when I came here." In speaking of an apparent complaint concerning the heat, Neasmith continued, "I can only say that any person conversant with heating large buildings with furnaces or steam will readily understand why one position of the building" in spite of furnace heat "under certain circumstances may and will be cold while another portion of the same building in another direction will be too warm." He pointed out that "the fault is in the system not in the fireman." Digressing a bit, he advised all superintendents of large buildings that "the best economy so far as fuel is concerned is to have on hand a years supply of seasoned wood. It must be seasoned before it will burn," he said, and stated that to his knowledge "It is poor policy for any one to season their wood in the stove or furnace. *Water will not burn.*"

In conclusion, Neasmith summarized that he had found the Ingham County Poor House in excellent condition and suggested that "whatever irregularities may have existed in the management in the past, I am unable to find them at this time. . . ." He also suggested that "the oft repeated absence of the keeper and matron, or either of them, from their post of duty or such irregularities, should be promptly dealt with by the superintendent."⁴

The belief of the habitual cynic that this report was another governmental "whitewash" by a state agency is partially shattered by two circumstances surrounding the investigation of the Ingham County Poor House. The first is that the commissioner states in his report that he was not notified of his assignment to the inspection until February 2, 1888, and certainly the one day time lapse before his visit of February 3 would not allow time for a general housecleaning. The possibility does still exist that the board could have notified the institution that an investigation was impending before an

⁴James M. Neasmith to Cyrus G. Luce, February 6, 1888, in the records of the Board of Corrections and Charities.

investigator was assigned. The absence of the keeper and matron at the time of the investigation by Neasmith would be indicative of the fact that no advance warning had been posted. As further evidence of the fact that no advance warning had been given of the investigation in 1888 is a notation made on May 7, 1887, by Lucius C. Storrs, secretary of the board, to the effect that "Everything [is] in most excellent order and very clean." On May 11, 1889, Secretary Storrs again noted that the Ingham County Poor House was "in most excellent order. Inmates well cared for." Storrs simply noted on June 30, 1890, "Same as last visit." It was not until October 30, 1891, that Storrs made the unfavorable notation that the cooking was poor.⁵ These reports add credence to that of Neasmith in 1888. Considering the fact that these reports were filed by two different persons and that the institution was given excellent ratings over a long period of time, it would seem probable that the complaint in 1888 was unusual, if not unjustified.

Whether the complaint was unjustified or not, the fact that the Board of Corrections and Charities had conducted a special investigation led to important local activity. The county officials concerned themselves with conditions in the poorhouse and a full scale examination was made. Keeper Brady was replaced by one Frank Hoes shortly after Neasmith's report to Governor Luce, and it was not until October, 1888, that the Ingham County Board of Supervisors was satisfied that conditions in the poorhouse were as good as possible. This is but one instance where the recommending power of the Board of Corrections and Charities had important results.

Although the Board of Corrections and Charities had no regulatory or enforcing powers, its suggestions and recommendations had a profound bearing on the actions of the legislature and on the thoughts of the governor. This fact is brought to light by the comments of Storrs in writing on the work of the Board of Corrections and Charities for the American Academy of Political and Social Science. He stated that in its annual report of 1877-78 the Board of Corrections and Charities called attention to the need for an institution for female offenders. The report read in part: "A reform school or an industrial home for exposed or criminal young girls is a necessity that is so

⁵Michigan Poor Houses, Reports of Visits 1882-1912, in the records of the Board of Corrections and Charities.

manifested by public opinion as to be almost mandatory in its expression." Storrs pointed out that "the legislature that immediately followed took heed and provided for a 'Reform School for Girls,' and made the necessary appropriation for the buildings and for the maintenance of the school."⁶ This reform school, located at Adrian, soon became a great factor in the rehabilitation of Michigan youth, taking its place along side of the Boys' Reform School at Lansing. Together, and under the general surveillance of the Board of Corrections and Charities, these reform schools must have had a tremendous effect on the rehabilitation of the wayward youth of Michigan.

The role of the board was not limited to suggesting the establishment of state institutions, and in influencing legislation. The chairman of the board, Bishop George Gillespie, wrote in 1887:

I notice that there are several bills before the legislature. (1) To allow placing insane persons in a private asylum, the state asylums being full. (2) To allow placing girls charged with crime or exposed to evil living in the "Home of the Good Shepherd," Detroit. (3) To allow placing children imbeciles in private institutions.

The principle of these bills is a departure from the past policy of the state, not assisting private benevolent institutions, and the practical operation would be to extend aid to sectarian institutions.⁷

Whether this represented the opinion of the board as a whole, or whether it is the opinion of the individual is not determinable. It is possible that the bishop was motivated in this action by his personal religious sentiments of the subject. However, the nature of his status with the board undoubtedly did give his petition more significance in swaying the governor's actions.

In addition to providing what were considered by existing standards well-equipped and managed institutions in the state, the board had a continual eye open toward reducing the state budget. The desire to provide as economical service as possible is portrayed in a letter from Neasmith to Luce in which he states his views concerning the care of mental patients in state asylums.

Having been from home for the past two weeks, I had failed to see in the papers the encounter between yourself and the bishop relative to

⁶*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 23:472-76 (Philadelphia, 1904).

⁷George D. Gillespie to Cyrus G. Luce, April 15, 1887, in the records of the Board of Corrections and Charities.

the care of certain classes of the insane. Some persons become what are now in common parlance called cranks upon certain subjects. The term may not properly apply to our chairman, but he is at least an *enthusiast* and I sometimes think this causes him to look at the matter through glasses that magnify largely, and cause him to make mountains out of molehills. There is nothing more *clearly plain* [sic] to me in my observation since becoming a member of the board than that a large percentage of the *so called* insane now in the large asylums, can be as well cared for by the counties, as they now are—at less than one half the expense to the taxpayer. It has always been a hobby of mine that the man who pays the bill should have something to say as to the expenditure. If you do think (and I hope you do) that some of the insane can be cared for in the county, I think you have good ground to stand upon, and I know you will stand by your convictions. I had not consulted you in regard to your view on this subject but have during my present tour advocated the policy of the counties taking care of their people who are neither suicidal [n]or homicidal—and believe they can do so as well as they can be cared for under the present system. *The taxpayer has some rights that even the Board of Corrections and Charities are bound to respect.*⁸

The ever-watchful economic eye of the board is also exemplified by Storrs, who reports in 1890, that "on the visit of this board to the Michigan Asylum for the Insane at Kalamazoo, March 19th last, we learned that . . . , an inmate there, sent from St. Joseph county," was being treated "as a state patient." This patient had received from "the state military board . . . a back pension of \$13,000" and besides this, was "receiving a monthly pension of \$72, but that no portion of either is paid toward his support."⁹

In the same report to Governor Luce the secretary brought the governor's attention to another problem concerning Michigan's social welfare. He stated that on a visit to the prison at Jackson "we observed [that] certain boys in the shop were employed with convicts," and that he was told on inquiry "that they are employed by the contractors because they can perform certain duties at slight expense for wages." He expressed the board's opinion that "this indiscriminate mingling of boys with convicts is . . . , decidedly wrong. . . ."¹⁰ The objection of the board to the practice of allowing boys to work in close

⁸James M. Neasmith to Cyrus G. Luce, June 8, 1889, in the records of the Board of Corrections and Charities.

⁹Lucius C. Storrs to Cyrus G. Luce, May 6, 1890, in the records of the Board of Corrections and Charities.

¹⁰Storrs to Luce, May 6, 1890, in the records of the Board of Corrections and Charities.

association with convicts was indeed legitimate. In establishing the Boys' Vocational School at Lansing and the Industrial Home for Girls at Adrian, the basis for such a move was to separate the youth of Michigan from the detrimental influence of close association with the hardened criminals of the state.¹¹

In addition to the foregoing functions of supervising the internal affairs of state institutions, the Board of Corrections and Charities, through its power to investigate county jails, had the duty of approving the erection of county jails. After receiving the plans for a new jail in Ogemaw County, the board notified the Board of Supervisors of Ogemaw County of its approval of the plans and noted that "considering the small appropriation made for the building, the plan is a good one." The board also noted that the representative of the construction company had "submitted models of lattice grating." After examining the models, it reported that "this board favors *very strongly* that which provides for the bars set edgeways, rather than flat, because that [sic] it secures a greater amount of light."¹² The above recommendation of the board provides another example of the alertness of its members to provide as pleasant and comfortable quarters for all inmates of institutions within the state as possible under the existing conditions.

Probably the most scathing and uncomplimentary reports which the members of the board made throughout the years were reports of conditions in Michigan's penal institutions.¹³ Even as late as 1905, Storrs wrote to Governor Fred M. Warner concerning the conditions in the Washtenaw County jail. In his letter he cited the words of Commissioner Hal C. Wyman, who declared the jail "to be as bad as the Black Hole of Calcutta with 77 men in 1800 cubic feet of space." To exemplify the problems which arose by the board's lack of enforcement power he went on to say that "in view of the trend toward county and home rule the only thing advised is to make conditions known to Washtenaw tax payers and," if they were interested,

¹¹*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 23:472-76.

¹²Board of Corrections and Charities to Mr. Rose, Chairman Board of Supervisors, Ogemaw County, May 4, 1888, in the records of the Board of Corrections and Charities.

¹³*Michigan Jails, Reports of Visits 1884-1914*, passim, in the records of the Board of Corrections and Charities.

"let them force action." As things stood at this time "the board has no power to order any changes."¹⁴

In relying upon the press to make conditions in Michigan institutions known to the public, Commissioner George B. Gillespie noted in 1887 that after a visit to the Eaton County Poor House, he had "made communication to county papers, recommending pulling down the old buildings where insane and idiotic are confined [and] putting up a proper building." Three years later Commissioner Neasmith noted that "repairs being made."¹⁵

The Michigan Board of Corrections and Charities was abolished in 1921. However, the functions of this board were incorporated in the act adopted that year which created the Michigan Social Welfare Commission.¹⁶ The new commission was granted the power to enforce its finding and decisions, and became the successor to many years of hard and fruitful work provided by one of the most successful boards of visitors in Michigan's history.

¹⁴Lucius C. Storrs to Fred M. Warner, March 6, 1905, in the records of the Board of Corrections and Charities.

¹⁵Michigan Poor Houses, Reports of Visits 1882-1912 in the records of the Board of Corrections and Charities.

¹⁶Sections 8159 through 8179 of the *Compiled Laws of 1929*.

Kansas, Canada, or Starvation

Robert F. Bauman

THE UNITED STATES PROPER HAS AN INDIAN POPULATION of approximately four hundred thousand,¹ and the Indian population of Canada is in the vicinity of one hundred twenty-five thousand.² Just as many of the Indians now living in Oklahoma and Kansas were originally from lands east of the Mississippi, so was a considerable portion of the Indians now living in southern Canada originally residents of the United States. The actual migrations causing these American Indians to establish homes west of the Mississippi and in Canada took place during the same period; however, the results of the migrations to Canada and those to westward United States are as different as is night and day.

For two years I carried on researches in relation to many of the tribes which were forcibly removed to Oklahoma and Kansas; and, previous to that time I studied the migration of Ottawas, Chippewas and Potawatomes from Ohio and Michigan to Canada. As a result of such researches I have gained a fairly clear picture of the factors causing the movements; one west and one north, I have learned about these tactics used to bring about the removals; and, most important, I have obtained some knowledge of the results of this action by the government. Tonight my talk will be concerned with just one of the numerous tribes which were caught in this unjust current of affairs—the Ottawas of northern Ohio and southern Michigan.

The Ottawa story is practically identical to that of most other tribes affected by the 1830 Removal Act,³ in that they tried in vain to withstand and ignore the inevitable, they suddenly found themselves without land or means of sustenance, they had to make extremely quick decisions about where their next council fire would be lighted, and they all suffered similar fates of mistreatment, starvation, and

¹This paper is an expansion of a talk given by Mr. Bauman at a meeting of the Algonquin Club on Friday, April 4, 1952, in Windsor, Ontario. Ed.

²*Annual Report of the Department of Mines and Resources* 205 (Ottawa, 1948); Department of the Interior, United States Indian Service, *Questions on Indian Culture*, 1 (Washington, D.C., 1950).

³7 United States Statutes 411.

death. During the 1830's the Ottawas of Michigan and Ohio had to face the complex problem of either removing to the barren Kansas plains; fleeing to their friends, the British, in Canada; or remaining at their beloved homelands and facing ultimate starvation and death.

The Ottawas, as tradition has it, were once a part of the famous Lake Confederacy consisting of the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomie. The three tribes formerly occupied a great expanse of land in Canada north of the Great Lakes. This confederacy was a very loose one politically, and was often referred to by the Indians themselves only as the Three Fires. As indication that such a confederacy did once exist, one need only mention the fact that even today these peoples are able to understand one another's language; they are all of the Algonquin family.⁴

The Ottawas were first noted living along the north and south shore of Georgian Bay, at Manitoulin Island, and around the Lake Huron area. In the early days they were better traders and merchants than they were warriors, and their name indicates this fact—Ottawa meaning "to buy and sell" or "to trade." With the arrival of the French and English to this continent, the Ottawas were not long in putting their long swift canoes to good use, and they became the middlemen in a very lucrative trade between the Canadian lake tribes and the French, and at times, even with the English. In this the Iroquois were extremely jealous, and tried time and time again to drive the Ottawas and their trade-related tribes out of the territory. Finally after the Iroquois drove several of the small tribes connected with the Ottawa trading system out of that area, the Ottawas were forced to follow to the west in order to continue the profitable trade.⁵

By the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century the Ottawa nation seems to have split into several separate bands, each having its own political and civil organizations, yet linked together by family and social ties. One of these groups remained in Canada and around the western and southern shores of Lake Superior; another settled in the northern section of the lower peninsula of Michigan, centering at Manitoulin, St. Ignace, Cross Village, Grand

⁴Diamond Jenness, *Indians of Canada*, 390 (Department of Mines, National Museum of Canada, *Bulletin* 65) (Ottawa, 1923).

⁵Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, 1:617-20; 2:167-72 (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin* 30) (Washington, D.C., 1912).

River, and Saginaw Bay. A third group of Ottawas settled in southern Michigan and northern Ohio, having their two main centers at Detroit and Toledo. It is with the last group that we will be concerned at this time. These Ottawas had the approximate boundaries in Ohio as follows: just east of the Cuyahoga River, south to the St. Mary's River, and west to a point near the present Indiana border. In Michigan their holdings were more vague, since they mixed quite frequently with the Ottawas of Grand River, and because of the fact that the Potawatomie, Chippewa, and Wyandotte Indians were also living in and amongst the Ottawas. However, for clarity we may say that the Ottawas' holdings in this area extended just north of Detroit. These Indians mixed with and were closely associated with the Indians just across the Detroit River in Canada.

This is the picture of the Ottawas of northern Ohio and southern Michigan by the latter part of the eighteenth century. They seemed to have had a particular allegiance to the British, yet fought for either side according to the spoils offered to them for such services. During these years it became the practice of the Ottawas to make annual treks to the Canadian shore in order to take part in the issues of presents then made to Indians, a long and well-known practice of the British.⁶

By this time the Ottawas were known more as warriors than as traders. They had produced and were producing great chiefs and leaders. Pontiac, born on the Maumee River in Ohio in 1720, is excellent proof of this. Most of the Ottawa chiefs saw the inevitable coming. Since they were fighting on their own ground, since it was their fields and game that were being eliminated, and since they were continually fighting against opponents who were superior both in equipment and in manpower, they knew that they were fighting a losing battle. Regardless of which side they fought for, these Indians knew that their ultimate outcome would be the loss of their homeland or destruction, for they knew too well that the white man was not fighting for this land in order to give it back to the Indian.⁷

⁶*Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, Session 1847, 6:5-7 (Ottawa, 1847).*

⁷Gerard Fowke, *Archaeological History of Ohio: The Mound Builders and Later Indians*, 487 (Columbus, 1902).

The Battle of Fallen Timbers and the Treaty of Greenville of 1794 was the beginning of the end of the Indian days in northern Ohio and southern Michigan, for as a result of this treaty white settlers were able to penetrate certain areas in the Indian country, and they also obtained the right of passage through the Indians' lands. It may be of interest to decide how the decision was made among the Indian tribes to fight Mad Anthony Wayne at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, for the debate well brings out the excellent leadership of another great Ottawa Chief, Turkey Foot. The debate took place just after Wayne had offered the Indians a peace proposition. The tribes met at the great Council Elm on the Maumee River, and the two deciding speeches were by Chief Little Turtle and Chief Turkey Foot. The first to speak was Little Turtle, the great elder leader of the Miamis:

The Great Spirit is good to his Red Children.
He has given them a beautiful country of prairie and forest;
Filled it with deer, elk, bear and otter for food and clothing for his children;
Given them large rivers of rapid waters filled with fish for their use,
and to float their canoes.
The young men are swift of foot;
Their arms are strong and their eyes see everything.
When they follow the trail of the elk they come back with meat to feed their wives and children,
With skins for clothing and shoes;
When they follow the warpath, they return with the scalps of their enemies.
They have driven the Long Knives many, many times from their hunting grounds,
And the scalps are dry in their lodges.
The trail has been long and bloody; it has no end.
The pale faces come from where the sun rises,
And they are many.
They are like the leaves of the trees:
When the frost comes they fall and are blown away,
But when the sunshine comes again they come back more plentiful than ever before.
The Great Father Washington has sent his war chief, Chenoten, the hurricane, with a great many braves to counsel or fight for his Red Children.
He has sent the painted quill, and asks them to smoke and talk in his lodge.

He wants a part of the country, and will give blankets, guns, knives and tomahawks with powder and lead for our young men,
Bright colored cloth and trinkets for our women.

He will be our friend and purchase our furs and skins.

The Long Knives are the children of the Manitou, and half-brothers of his Red Children.

The Manitou does not want to see the bloody tomahawk among his children.

He will hide his face in a cloud, if they refuse to talk to the white chief.

The Miamis of the Wabash would talk with the Great War Chief Chenoten.

My ears are open, I will listen to the great chiefs of the Ottawas, Potawatomies, and the Shawnees,

I have done.

Then Turkey Foot, soon to die in battle, stepped forward and said:

My ears are open.

I have heard the words of the Turtle, the great chief of the Miami. His head is sprinkled with the frosts of many winters.

He says the great Manitou has been good to his Red Children.

He would give part of our hunting grounds to our enemies.

He has given us a great country, filled with elk, deer, the otter, and the beaver for our support.

The scalps of our enemies are drying in our lodges,

But he would smoke in the lodges of the Long Knives, our enemies.

We can buy blankets, guns, knives and clothing of the Saginwash [the English]

In the country where the snow falls before the summer is done.

The Potawatomies, Ottawas, and Shawnees will follow the war path of the Long Knives.

When the sun sleeps again the scalps of the pale face will hang on the belts of our warriors.

Chenoten, the great war chief, will walk in a bloody path toward the sunrise,

And we will tell Chenoten that the Manitou of the red man is strong, And will help his children of the red skin,

And the great chief will not come again.

The Manitou gave us this country and he bids us bloody the trail of our enemies.

The Manitou is great.

He is good.

Will the braves of his red children fight?

Will they defend the council fires and the graves of their fathers?

I have done.

Then the leaders of the other tribes spoke in favor of war, and Chief Little Turtle found himself in the minority. He rose and said:

I have heard the words of the great chief of the Ottawa, Potawatomies and the Shawnees.

They are wise men;

They are great warriors;

They are young men and their arms are strong.

They are swift on the warpath;

They have driven the enemies of our people from our hunting grounds. . . .

And their scalps are drying in our lodges.

The chief of the Miamis is old;

His limbs are no more like the elk;

His eyes are not like the eagle;

The snow of many winters covers his head.

He is waiting for the Great Spirit to say come.

He will answer, I am ready.

The great chief of the Ottawas with the name of a bird,

This is so swift when it runs, and speaks so loud when it speaks to its mate.

Shall tell our young men where to hide;

To strike the enemy when they come;

To strike him when the moon is out of sight.

He is a great chief and will lead our young men on the warpath,

And the chief of the Miamis will follow.

I have done.⁸

Thus the die was cast. The warrior's decision had been made. We all know the tragic results of that battle. It was the horses that won that victory for Mad Anthony Wayne—the horses that outflanked the horseless Indians. As I have said, this battle marked the beginning of the end for the Indians of Ohio and southern Michigan.

After this defeat, the Ottawas enjoyed a long period of peace, and they appear to have even stayed neutral in the War of 1812. So instead of sharing in the vengeance from which the other Indians suffered in the post-War of 1812 treaties of expulsion that cleared most of the Wabash country of its red inhabitants, the Ottawas were allowed to remain in the region. In fact, they were protected in this by an additional reservation.⁹

⁸Dresden W. H. Howard, *The Battle of Fallen Timbers, As Told by Chief Kin-jo-i-no*, in the Howard Papers in the possession of Mrs. Agnes McClarren, Winameg, Ohio, as copied by Mr. Davis B. Johnson, Wauseon, Ohio.

⁹Randolph C. Downes, *Canal Days*, 42 (Toledo, 1949).

From this time on, the Ottawas were free from wars. This caused their supply of trained leaders and chiefs to diminish. As a people they were slowly degenerating due to increased contacts with the whites. The traders and merchants in the area sought all the profit they could possibly squeeze out of the trusting Indians, and the result was a growing indebtedness of the tribesmen which could not be possibly paid except by the receipts from the sale to the United States government of their existing reservations. The whites deliberately took advantage of the Indians, who were willing to take whiskey in return for their furs. Disease, drunkenness, and death soon followed and the once-powerful Ottawas began to feel the real effects of the white settlers and civilization.¹⁰

By 1830 the time was ripe for the expulsion of the Ottawas from their homeland in Ohio and Michigan. The Erie Canal was open and the stream of westward moving pioneers was approaching their lands. Then, on May 28, 1830, the United States Government sanctioned the unfavorable policy of the new settlers towards the Indians by passing the Removal Act. This act provided for the exchange of the Indian's eastern holdings for lands beyond the Mississippi River.

With such a weapon at their disposal the settlers now began to clamor for the removal of the Indians from their vicinity. They immediately petitioned the Government to remove the red people, and in 1831 the first group of Ottawas was removed to Kansas. These included the tribesmen living in towns on the Auglaize River and on the Maumee River above Toledo. They were known as the Ohio Ottawa. The Ottawa Indians at the mouth of the Maumee, on the Ottawa River, and in southern Michigan were not included because they came under the Michigan superintendency. They were known as the Michigan Ottawa. "The removal was a tragic one; the few Indians who had money were robbed by the whites enroute, horses broke down or were stolen, a good portion of the Indians became sick and many died, no provisions or doctors were awaiting them on their arrival in Kansas as the government had promised, and no provision had been made to supply them with ploughs or materials needed to start the spring planting as was promised in the removal treaty. Some of the more heartsick of the Ottawas made the long and tiring trek

¹⁰Downes, *Canal Days*, 48.

back to the Ohio-Michigan country, and the misery of the migration lost nothing of its luridness in the stories that these Indians told to the remaining tribes.¹¹

When the government agents tried to negotiate with the rest of the Ottawas for the remaining reservations and for their removal to the west, the stories of the dying and dead in Kansas were still too vivid in the minds of the Ottawa leaders. The whites and the government then tried every means in their power to wrench the Ottawas from their camping grounds. Council meeting after council meeting was held in order to obtain signatures to land cessions. Dresden W. H. Howard, one of the Indian agents, left a clear account of the feelings of the Ottawa chiefs at these affairs when he wrote:

It was pitiful sometimes at these interviews to observe the silent tear, welling from the breaking hearts, steal down the wrinkled dusky cheeks of the old grey-haired men, braves and warriors in their day, at the painful thought of leaving the graves of their fathers, the old and familiar camping grounds, the springs of sparkling water, the Council Fires, never to be revisited, never again to meet in their Council Lodge on their native hills and streams.¹²

These words express the feeling that caused the Ottawas to withstand removal for over five years after the first band of Ottawas had made the dreadful trek to Kansas.

The more the Indians refused to remove the harder the whites fought to have them removed to the west. Finally an Indian agent by the name of Benjamin F. Stickney, a man who had great contempt for the Ottawas, offered this solution to the problem:

If the government should determine certain tribes should be destroyed, rather than send armies to kill them with powder and lead, wherein it would cost at least the life of one white man to kill one Indian, beside the cash amount, she should select any Indian agent who had been well educated in Indian Affairs [meaning Stickney] with proper instructions, and furnished with plenty of good meat and bread, and a little tobacco, and, if there was a little whiskey it would be all the better. He could

¹¹"Correspondence on the Subject of the Emigration of the Indians between the 30th November, 1831, and 27th December, 1833, with Abstracts of Expenditures by Disbursing Agents, in the Removal and Subsistence of Indians, . . ." 359-63 (23 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Documents*, volume 11, number 512) (Washington, D.C., 1830); Downes, *Canal Days*, 50.

¹²The Removal of the Indians from the Maumee Valley, in the Howard Papers.

call the Indians together, within 500 miles square, at any point he chose and keep them during his pleasure. I have had a number of opportunities of making experiments upon the high feeding of Indians, and of observing the effects. In about six weeks disease will commence, in eight or ten mortality will ensue, and during the summer months they would die at the rate of 20 per cent, at least, and through the year they should probably range from 15 to 20 per cent per annum, and those who might remain would be so enervated that they would not be dangerous. Objections may be raised against the morality of the mode, but would it be more moral to shoot them down? In this mode all the lives of the troops would be saved, and at least three-fourths of the cash, and the Indians well satisfied with the mode of doing the business.¹³

This type of philosophy was quite prevalent during the removal period, not only among the settlers, but also among many of the official government Indian agents. Is there little wonder that the Indians were becoming suspicious of all councils with the whites, and belligerent to any white suggestion?

Then the time came when the Ottawas realized that they owed the white merchants as much money as they could possibly receive from the government for their reservations when they removed west of the Mississippi. The inevitable had come. The merchants now refused to sell the Indians any more food or goods, and the Ottawas were slowly being starved into submittance. Again councils were arranged, but the old Ottawa chiefs, Kinjoine, Ottokee, Wauseon, and Shawano could not forget the brutality of the first removal of Ottawas to Kansas or the reports that the land was not able to support their families. In order to stall a little they asked that they be allowed to view the lands to which their people would be removed. This wish was granted, and the government agent arranged for the trip. When the Ottawa chiefs returned from Kansas they advised their people not to agree to remove, for the land was not capable of being cultivated, small game was scarce, and the hostile savages of the plains were raising their bloody hands against paleface and red man alike.¹⁴

Thus, by 1832, the Ottawas of southern Michigan and northern Ohio were faced with the problem of survival; they could agree to

¹³Downes, *Canal Days*, 47.

¹⁴J. P. Simonton to George Gibson, February 18, September 2, 1834, in the Record of the Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; The Removal of the Indians from the Maumee Valley, in the Howard Papers.

remove to the strange lands in the west, they could remain in their homeland and face starvation and brutal treatment by the whites; or, they could try to escape to their friends in Canada where they were always welcome. In this year Governor George B. Porter tried to negotiate with the Ottawas to have them removed. He wrote to Washington that:

I have no hesitation in saying that this tribe are desirous of selling their land, but from all I can learn, they do not wish to remove west of the Mississippi. They are rather inclined to go to Canada, or somewhere in our vicinity. . . . It would be difficult, if not entirely out of the question, to persuade them to go west of the Mississippi.¹⁵

Their plight in their homeland is described by Colonel Howard.

The Ottawas are now leading a wandering life among white men, who have no sympathy for them. The whites now have all their lands here and are ploughing up the graves of their dead, and to stay here and witness that is more to the Indians than to meet death on the plains in Kansas.¹⁶

Lieutenant J. P. Simonton, another government official sent to help remove the Ottawas, reported that they were rapidly becoming pressed for subsistence, that game in the area was growing scarce; and, that the traders had ceased to supply the Ottawas with food and goods. With these sources of food cut off, said Simonton, these beggarly Indians will soon beg to be removed.¹⁷

I have already mentioned that the Ottawas were welcomed in Canada and well treated by the British, who gave them presents annually. So it is not difficult to understand why the tribe wrote to the Canadian government:

Father, environed as we are now by the Americans, we would seek again the remote and secluded cover of the forest. As the white American advances, we would retire; we would retire to hunt in those reclusal woods, whither his erring foot dares not ramble. Father, the Americans propose to us lands, west of the Mississippi, instead of those we now occupy within their territory. Here, Father, they betray the usual craftiness of their nation. . . . Father, our inclination leads us to your shores. Say, Father, will you accept our proposal, or will you spurn the extended

¹⁵"Correspondence on the Subject of the Emigration of the Indians between the 30th November, 1831, and 27th December, 1833, . . ." 401.

¹⁶Dresden W. H. Howard, Wauseon or Wa-se-on and Otokee or Ot-to-kee, in the Howard Papers.

¹⁷J. P. Simonton to George Gibson, February 18, 1835, in the Records of the Office of Indian Affairs.

hand of your children and drive them into closer compact with the Americans?¹⁸

Thus, the Ottawas were seriously thinking of emigrating to Canada. There were several reasons for this: first of all, the Indian policy then existing in the United States; secondly, the opportunity of remaining in an environment similar to that to which they were accustomed; and, thirdly, the fact that they felt they had an ancient claim to lands in southern Canada. All of these reasons caused them to cast their eyes toward the Canadian shore.¹⁹ Then, just at this time, the Canadian government instituted a drastic change in her Indian policy which caused the American Indians to flock to that country. By the middle 1830's the Canadians were faced with the problem of issuing more presents to "visiting" or "American" Indians each year than they were actually giving to their own tribes. This was getting to be quite a costly undertaking. Also, since the presents were not only clothing, but guns, powder, and ball, the relations were beginning to become strained between the American and British governments.²⁰ In order to correct this situation, the Canadian government issued a proclamation in 1837 in which they informed all American Indians that presents would be issued to resident Indians only. Thus at the time when removal was inevitable, the Canadian government offered our Indians protection, land, and presents each year if they lived in that country.²¹

These are the problems that the American agents appointed to remove the Ottawas were faced with. In 1837, 1838, and 1839 the last of the Michigan Ottawas were removed to Kansas lands. During these removals, however, the agents often turned their heads and allowed the Ottawa families to escape to Canadian shores, and a great many were saved from the brutal removal in this way.²²

¹⁸Memorial of the Ottawas Respecting the Amherstburg Reservation to Sir John Colborn, September, 1829, in the Walpole Island Papers in the Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa, Canada.

¹⁹Memorandum Concerning Potawatomes' Claim to Walpole Island, date unknown, prepared for and in the possession of Mr. A. E. St. Louis, archivist, Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch, Ottawa.

²⁰Memorandum Concerning Indian Presents, September 23, 1943, a mimeograph circular from the Department of Mines and Resources, Ottawa.

²¹Letter of Sir F. B. Head to Lord Glenelg, November 20, 1836, in the Walpole Island Papers; Memorandum Concerning Indian Presents in the Walpole Island Papers.

²²The Removal of the Indians from the Maumee Valley, in the Howard Papers.

The Ottawas that were removed to Kansas have a sad tale to tell. About half of them died on the way, and many more passed away soon after arrival. The whites with their high finance methods were waiting for them, and soon convinced the Ottawas to use their land to establish a university—a university that not a single Ottawa child has ever attended. Finally, the Ottawas again found themselves landless, and were forced to remove once more, this time to Oklahoma. A great part of their lands there were used to form the town of Miami, Oklahoma; and, today, the once-powerful Ottawa tribe possesses only a five-acre plot of land that is used as their cemetery.

The few Ottawas that stayed in Ohio and southern Michigan met with a somewhat better fate, and soon became assimilated with the white element. Some may still be seen living here and there throughout the area.

About half of the original number did make their escape to Canada, and settled with their brethren the Chippewa and Potawatomie on Manitoulin Island, at Sarnia Reserve, or on Walpole Island. These Indians were better treated and have established a rather high standard of living for themselves.²³

Many of the Indians that were removed to Kansas and Oklahoma after a few years made the long trek back to this area, and then settled among their relatives in Canada.²⁴ Others petitioned the Ottawas in Canada to let them come in a group, and settle on reservations there. It appears, however, that no group migration back was ever accomplished by the Ottawas west of the Mississippi.²⁵

This has been only a very brief explanation of the Ottawa's plight during the removal period; however, I feel enough has been presented to illustrate that the Indians were given anything but just treatment from the United States government and the settlers. The government is now doing something to correct the unjust actions and mistreatment of the Indians by past administrations. In 1946 the Indian Land Claims Commission was established to conduct hearings on injustices committed against the various tribes when these lands

²³Robert F. Bauman, "The Migration of the Ottawa Indians from the Maumee Valley to Walpole Island," in the *Northwest Ohio Quarterly*, 21:86-112 (Toledo, 1949).

²⁴Robert F. Bauman, "Young Jim, The Ottawa's Last Hope," in the *Northwest Ohio Quarterly*, 22:46-58 (Toledo, 1950).

²⁵Letters written by Indians in Council, Walpole Island, Canada, 1864 and 1869, in the Walpole Island Papers.

were snatched from their midst. The commission will be in operation until 1956, at which time all tribes must have filed their claims. I feel that by this action, we will alleviate somewhat the shame from our records, and correct a few pages of our past history of which we are not too proud.

In closing, I would like to quote the words of an outstanding chief of the once-powerful Iroquois Nation who said:

When the winged canoes came from where the sun rises, with people with white faces, they were our brothers, and created by the same Great Spirit, and we welcomed them and fed them.²⁶

This is an example of how the white people were received by the Indians. And the words of Colonel Dresden W. H. Howard tell us how the whites returned such a brotherly welcome—and provides us with a warning:

The American people can only hope, that after we have done our work, and other people have taken our place, they will have done it with a kindlier hand than we [who] have taken the long and cherished homes of the simple Red People.²⁷

²⁶Dresden W. H. Howard, *Indian Religion*, in the Howard Papers.

²⁷Dresden W. H. Howard, *Young Jim*, in the Howard Papers.

Letters of Henry P. Tappan to Victor Cousin

Adrian Jaffe

THE REPUTATION OF HENRY P. TAPPAN, the first president of the University of Michigan, is well known in the field of university education. His work as professor, writer, and administrator brought him deserved renown in Europe as well as in the United States, and the many advances which he instituted at the University during his tenure of office from 1852 to 1863 will always be recalled with pleasure and pride by the people of Michigan.

It is perhaps less often remembered that Tappan was equally distinguished in philosophy and that he was responsible for a series of important contributions to American thought which earned for him the respect and admiration of scholars both here and abroad. In 1839 there appeared his *Review of Edwards' "Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will,"* followed in 1840 by the *Doctrine of the Will Determined by an Appeal to Consciousness*, and in 1841 by the *Doctrine of the Will Applied to Moral Agency and Responsibility*. These publications were greeted with respect and enthusiasm not only in America, but in Europe, and in 1859 Tappan was honored by election to membership in the Institute of France upon nomination of the great French eclectic philosopher, Victor Cousin.

Dr. Roy Sellars of the University of Michigan, in writing about Tappan in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, notes the strong influence which Cousin had upon Tappan's philosophical thinking, and this judgment is borne out by an examination of Tappan's work. Further evidence of this relationship is to be found in the correspondence which Tappan had with Cousin over a period of some nineteen years, between 1840 and 1859, much of which has fortunately been preserved in the Bibliothèque Victor Cousin in Paris. These letters, in which Tappan discusses his own work, indicate clearly the extent to which he looked to his French mentor for inspiration, and how very greatly he was indebted to Cousin for much of his thinking.

Although the specific relationship between Tappan and Cousin has not been previously investigated, it is not particularly surprising. Recent studies in the field of Franco-American relationships in the

nineteenth century have disclosed that Victor Cousin was perhaps the single most influential French author in the formation of the transcendentalist movement of New England. Dr. Georges Joyaux, in his *French Thought in American Magazines 1800-1848*,¹ discovered that between 1828 and 1838, out of sixty-six references to French philosophy in American periodicals, all but fifteen dealt with Cousin.² George Ripley, and the group associated with Brook Farm, were indebted to Cousin for many of their ideas, and when the first sections of Ripley's *Specimens of Foreign Literature* appeared, a translation of Cousin's writings was foremost in the collection.³

These letters are thus of particular interest not only because of the light they cast upon the relationship between Tappan and Cousin, but because they confirm the fact that one of our greatest intellectual movements, and one of the most outstanding Michigan philosophers, were deeply affected by the thinking of a Frenchman to whom, in philosophy and education, America owes a great deal. The students at Ann Arbor in the early days of the University were by no means unaffected by this influence, for President Tappan, in 1861 and 1862, offered a course in the history of philosophy which included, as one of three topics, "Cousin and Eclecticism,"⁴ so that, through Tappan's work, the influence of Cousin was not confined to New England but was carried into the newer regions of the Middle West.

The first letter is dated November 2, 1840, and was written from New York. In it Tappan refers to some of his own work and makes the first of many glowing tributes to Cousin:

I have taken the liberty to present to you through my friend the Hon. Judge Carleton,⁵ two volumes which I have recently published.

A copy of the Review of Edwards on the Will I transmitted to you

¹Georges J. Joyaux, *French Thought in American Magazines: 1800-1848*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State College, 1951.

²Joyaux, *French Thought in American Magazines*, 59. The first reference to Cousin, according to Joyaux, appeared in *North American Review* for July 29, 1829. For further discussion of Cousin's influence in American, see Joyaux, 59-67.

³There is an interesting group of letters from George Ripley to Cousin in the Bibliothèque Victor Cousin in Paris, which show that as early as 1837 Ripley was involved with French eclecticism.

⁴I am indebted for this information to Dr. F. Clever Bald, assistant director of the Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan. I am appreciative of his kind and generous assistance.

⁵Catalogued in the Bibliothèque Victor Cousin as number 4869.

through Prof. Henry⁶ of this city. But as it is possible that it may have missed you a duplicate is enclosed with my treatise on *The Will*.

These books are humble but sincere offerings at the shrine of a stupendous genius. I know it cannot but be interesting to you to mark the movement of philosophical investigation in our young country.

With deep admiration

Your very humble and Obt. Servt.

Henry P. Tappan⁷

In 1851 Tappan found himself in Paris, and lost no time in getting in touch with Cousin. He wrote:

334 Rue St Honoré
Sept 4th, 1851

Sir—

Some time since I received a kind message from you through Prof. Henry of New York, to which I shall be happy to respond now in person. My friend Mr. Bancroft⁸ has sent a note by me to you which I enclose. If you will please inform me whether it is convenient for you to see me, and if you will also appoint the time and place, I shall feel myself more honoured in availing myself of the opportunity to see one who has contributed so much to the intellectual world and to whose labours I feel myself personally indebted.

I am very respectfully

Your obt. svt.

Henry P. Tappan⁹

As he was about to sail for home again, Tappan took occasion at Le Havre to pen a farewell note to Cousin, with whom he had been able to spend a good deal of time in Paris. It is evident that Tappan's grasp of the French language was uncertain and that his conversations with Cousin must have suffered as a result, but it is clear that these visits left Tappan with the warmest feelings of satisfaction. The letter follows:

⁶Henry Carleton (1785-1863), originally Henry Carleton Fox, was for some years an associate justice of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, a post he assumed in 1837. After removing to the east, he published several works in philosophy, of which *Liberty and Necessity* (1857) and *Essay on the Will* (1863) are the most important.

⁷Caleb Sprague Henry (1804-1884), was professor of intellectual and moral philosophy, belles-lettres and history at New York University until 1862. He translated and published Cousin's *Elements of Psychology* in 1834, a review of which appears in *Literary and Theological Review* 1:690 (December, 1834). Joyaux, *French Thought in American Magazines*, 61 indicates that Henry was complimented for having thus made Cousin available to Americans (see *Biblical Repository* 5:245 (January 1835)).

⁸A reference to the famous writer George Bancroft (1800-1891).

⁹Catalogued in the Bibliothèque Victor Cousin as number 4870.

Havre, Oct 21st 1851

My dear M. Cousin—

I am here on the shore of the great Ocean which I must cross to reach my home. Before leaving I take this opportunity to express my thanks for the repeated opportunities you have afforded me of seeing you. I regret that my inability to speak in French so impeded our conversation. There are some subjects on which I desired to converse with you and particularly on the relations between Philosophy and Xnty. A third volume which I published of my series on the Will touches upon the subject, and with your kind indulgence I shall take the liberty of sending it to you.

Mr. Goodrich [Samuel Griswold Goodrich who wrote as "Peter Parley"] the American Consul—Office No. 27 Boulevard Italiens has courteously offered to be the medium of any correspondence between you and myself. I shall therefore send to you through him. He will also receive from you any thing you may wish to send to America.

The impulse which philosophy has received from your writings will be perpetual—For as truth is immortal so her noble and faithful expounders permeated [*receiving deleted*] by her light life [*sic*] must share in her immortality.

The good you have done will therefore live after you. I pray God you may yet live many years to teach men wisdom and to illustrate your doctrines by a pure example.—Farewell—

Faithfully and sincerely yours,

Henry P. Tappan¹⁰

Upon his return to America, Tappan wrote again to Cousin. This letter is especially interesting from the point of view of intellectual history because in it Tappan gives a list of the writings of Cousin which he possessed in his personal library, and it may be assumed that he was familiar with them. Evidently his weakness in French was confined to conversation, as his entire collection of Cousin's works was in the original language. At the close of the letter, Tappan refers to his tract on university education, his views on which were doubtless instrumental in his being offered the presidency of the University of Michigan the following year. He was quite correct in believing that this book would interest Cousin, whose study of the schools of Prussia had had an enormous effect in France and in the United States.

¹⁰Number 4871 in Bibliothèque Victor Cousin.

New York, November 14th, 1851

My dear Mr. Cousin—

I wrote you a note from Havré [*sic*] and now I write you again from my own home. It has been a matter of deep regret to me ever since I saw you that I could not have conversed with you freely as I strongly desired to do, owing to my neglect of cultivating French conversation. I have imposed upon myself the task of removing this defect in my education that I may not be subjected to the same embarrassment if I ever have the happiness to meet you again. In thus losing the pleasure and profit of talking with you face to face without restraint I can only console myself by reading again your noble works. In examining my library I find that I possess the following works of yours which I name with the editions as you requested me

Introduction à L'Histoire de la Philosophie

Pichon et Didier 5 vo 1828

Histoire de la Philosophie du XVIII^e Siècle

Tomes 1 et 2 8 vo Pichon et Didier 1829

Fragmens Philosophiques Second edition

Ladrangé 1833 8 vo 1 Tome

Nouveaux Fragmens Philosophiques

Pichon et didier 1828 8 vo 1 Tome

Oeuvres de Platon 12 Tomes 8 vo

Tomes 1, 2, 3, 4 et 5 Bonange Frères

1822-1827. Tomes 6, 7 et 8 Pichon et Didier 1831 et 1832

Tomes 9, 10, 11 et 12 Rez et Gormin 1833-1839

Manuel de l'Histoire de la Philosophie

Traduit de l'Allemagne [*sic*] de Fennemann

2 Tomes 8 vo Pichon et Didier 1829

Première [*sic*] Série—Cours de L'Histoire de la

Philosophie Moderne 5 tomes Ladrangé Editeur

Libraire [*sic*] de Didier

I have taken the liberty to send you the Third Volume of my series on the Will—The work of Edwards had its origin in the theological controversies of New England. In undertaking to review and refute that work I could not avoid coming into collision with the theologians. It is necessary, therefore, for me to vindicate the Doctrine of the Will set forth in my Appeal to Consciousness, by showing its true bearing upon the cardinal questions in Morals and Religion. This I have attempted in the volume I now send you.

I send you also a small tract on University Education. The great want in our Country is the want of this highest form of Education. I thought my little book might interest you somewhat as shewing you the present state of Education with us, and what we are striving after.

I send you this parcel through Mr. Goodrich the American Consul No. 27 Boulevard des Italiens who has kindly consented to take charge of my correspondence.

Mrs Tappan and my daughter write with me in kind remembrance of your country.

Believe me My dear M Cousin

Most faithfully yours

Henry P. Tappan¹¹

The final letter of the series discovered in Paris was written from Ann Arbor in 1859, some seven years after Tappan had assumed the presidency of the University of Michigan. In it, Tappan expresses his pleasure at having, at the instigation of Cousin, been elected to the Institute, and takes the opportunity of recommending to his friend the young astronomer Brunnnow, whom Rebecca Lloyd Tappan had married in 1857. Franz Friedrich Ernst Brunnnow (1821-1891) came to Ann Arbor in 1854 as professor of astronomy and director of the Observatory. From 1858 to 1862 he edited at Ann Arbor the journal known as *Astronomical Notices*, through which he succeeded in acquiring a high reputation in the field. In 1863 he left Michigan to return to Germany, and accepted a post as astronomer-royal of Ireland, where he was frequently visited by his father-in-law during Tappan's last years. Brunnnow's most famous work is perhaps his *Lehrbuch der sphärischen Astronomie*, published in 1860. This young German, friend and pupil of the famous Urbain Le Verrier¹² and Johann Encke,¹³ afforded to the state of Michigan a position of pre-eminence in the field of astronomical studies at a time when few other universities or colleges could boast of much concern with the science. The letter is as follows:

University of Michigan
June 3rd 1859

My dear Master and Friend:

Years have passed since we last met in Paris. I then expected ere this to see you again but I have been engaged steadily in what you called a noble labour, that of sowing seeds of philosophy in the great western

¹¹Number 4872 in Bibliothèque Victor Cousin.

¹²Urbain Jean Joseph Le Verrier (1811-1877) was the famous French astronomer who predicted the precise location of the planet Neptune, which was discovered in 1846 by Galle. Brunnnow worked under Galle in his earlier career.

¹³Johann Franz Encke (1791-1865) was the German astronomer who discovered the comet which bears his name and who received much honor for his investigations of the transits of Venus.

region of our country. Your great thoughts have ever been present to my mind; your great example has been ever before me. The consolations of the true thinker must be yours in rich measure, for I see clearly that your works are spreading more and more over this country and becoming inspirations to thought in many ingenious minds. At no distant day I hope to lay at your feet a work to certify that I have not known you in vain.

It is only recently that I learned that you brought my name before the Institute, and that to you I am indebted for my election as a member of that illustrious body. Believe me, that I am deeply penetrated both with a sense of your kindness, and with the wish to prove myself not unworthy of this distinction.

Will you pardon me if I now seek to interest you in behalf of one whose merits are unquestionable? I refer to the young astronomer F. Brunnow, formerly Encke's assistant in the Royal Observatory at Berlin, next Director of the Observatory of Michigan and recently elected Associate Director of the Observatory at Albany the Capital of the State of New York.

When I returned from Italy over the Simplon I left Mrs Tappan and my young Rebecca at Geneva and visited the North of Germany alone. In Berlin I became acquainted with Brunnow, and after my return to America induced him to follow me and become Director of our Observatory.

Two years ago he became the husband of my Rebecca, and now he is bound to our country forever. Le Verrier and your astronomers generally doubtless know him well for he had attained eminence before he left his own country. Here he has no equal. By the death of Bond of Cambridge Massachusetts, a place is vacant in the Astronomical section of the Academy of Sciences.

Will you permit me to suggest to you the name of Brunnow?

I pray God that I may be permitted once more to see you. May your life long be spared, my dear Master, to philosophy and humanity.

My wife and daughter send their affectionate remembrances.

I am ever most gratefully and faithfully yours

Henry P. Tappan¹⁴

Tappan and Cousin were not to meet again in person, but their community of interests was to continue through their written works. If Cousin was in fact the "Master," Tappan was certainly a worthy and distinguished disciple.

¹⁴Number 4874 in Bibliothèque Victor Cousin. Number 4873 is a short note from Rebecca Lloyd Tappan, written in schoolgirl French, to Cousin, in which she talks about her trip. Tappan merely appends a note forwarding it.

Michigan News

SEVEN PANEL DISCUSSIONS WERE HELD AT KALAMAZOO, July 11-12, in connection with the museum conference held by the Historical Society of Michigan. Methods of records keeping for small historical museums, public relations, the preparation of historical exhibits, purpose and function of historical museums, housing and buildings, acquisition policies, and educational activities were the topics considered.

Forty people were present at the conference representing historical museums at Detroit, Dearborn, Monroe, Niles, Muskegon, Kalamazoo, Grand Rapids, Holland, Marshall, and Flint.

The Friday sessions were held in Wallwood Hall on the campus of Western Michigan College of Education. The Saturday morning sessions were held down town at Schensul's restaurant. Following the Saturday morning program and luncheon, those present visited the Kalamazoo Public Museum.

The conference was arranged and organized under the capable direction of Mr. Alexis Praus, president of the Historical Society of Michigan and director of the Kalamazoo Public Museum, and Mr. Henry Brown, director of the Detroit Historical Museum. Those present were enthusiastic over the results obtained at the conference. The panel discussions were informative, interesting, and varied. A report of the discussions will be issued. A directory of Michigan historical museums will be prepared and a list of the full-time, part-time, and volunteer staff members of historical museums in Michigan is under way. A statement of acquisition policies is being compiled by each museum represented.

Thus the conference achieved its goals which were: to exchange information, compile reports on common problems facing local historical museums, and provide a useful directory of those interested in Michigan historical museum activities.

A NEW BIBLIOGRAPHY ON MICHIGAN HISTORY entitled *Michigan: Books for Children* by Mate Graye Hunt, assistant director of the department of librarianship of the Western Michigan College of Education at Kalamazoo, is off the press of the Sturgis Printing Company.

It offers helpful suggestions as to what books are available for children of various age levels with the name of the publisher and the price.

THE FINNISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF HIAWATHA LAND, with headquarters at Crystal Falls, has had an active and gratifying year. Ivar Maki, president of the society, writes that three chapters have been organized and that a four-year plan has been established. During these four years the society expects to complete its archives building where it will store its historical material and family archives. A dramatic club has been organized and has presented Finnish plays at Stambaugh and Bruce Crossing to fairly good-sized houses. The income from the plays will be added to the archives-building fund. Meetings are held once a month. Other officers of the society are: Hjalmar Makila, secretary, in charge of archives; John Harmanmaa, assistant secretary; and Johanna Harmanmaa, treasurer.

THE LENAWEE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY at its annual meeting, Wednesday, May 21, following a dinner at the Crowell House in Adrian, chose as its officers for the next year: Mrs. Guy Pocklington, president; Mrs. Eugene Ryan, first vice president; Mrs. Howard Evans, second vice president; Mrs. Elsie Dershem, third vice president; Miss Anne Carson, secretary; and Mrs. Grace Campbell, treasurer.

Mrs. Wilfred Waldron, program chairman, introduced Miss Isabelle Tripp, staff member of station WABJ, who told of the work done in cooperation with the Michigan Historical Commission in marking centennial farms of Lenawee County. She illustrated her talk with a map which indicated all qualified centennial farms and land grant farms in the county. The histories of many centennial farms were given by members of the society.

THE DIOCESE OF SAGINAW, which includes the counties of Presque Isle, Montmorency, Alpena, Oscoda, Alcona, Ogemaw, Iosco, Gladwin, Arenac, Midland, Bay, Gratiot, Saginaw, Tuscola, Sanilac, and Huron, is this year celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the foundation of organized Catholic life in the Saginaw area, although the Diocese itself is only fourteen years old. As part of the celebration *The Catholic Weekly* on May 25, 1952, published a special centennial edition, consisting of two sections; one a 112 page tabloid

section containing the histories of every parish and mission in the Diocese, and the other a regular Sunday edition of twenty-two pages. The honor of being the mother parish of the Saginaw Valley goes to St. Joseph church in Bay City, according to the *Catholic Weekly*. The first edifice was built in the winter of 1850-51 on Washington Avenue between Second and Third streets when Bay City was known as Lower Saginaw.

ALICE E. SMITH IS THE AUTHOR of "James Duane Doty: Mephistopheles in Wisconsin" appearing in the Summer 1951 issue of *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. It is based on her forth-coming book.

James Doty was born and educated in New York state. He began the practice of law at Detroit, Michigan Territory, in 1819. He was also clerk of the supreme court of the territory and of the territorial council. In 1820, Doty acted as secretary to Lewis Cass on his expedition to the sources of the Mississippi River. Three years later he became judge of the judicial district of northern Michigan and settled at Green Bay in Michigan Territory.

MR. JAMES F. HOPKINS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY writes that through the University research facilities in cooperation with the National Historical Publications Commission an effort is being made to compile and publish the papers of Henry Clay. Included will be letters both to and by Clay, other materials of which Clay was the author, and "particularly significant items about him." Mr. Hopkins will appreciate hearing from anyone having such material.

A GROUP OF SCHOLARS INTERESTED IN ONOMASTICS have organized the American Name Society for the "purpose of promoting and encouraging the study of place names, personal names, and scientific and commercial nomenclature." The new society plans to publish a quarterly devoted to articles on names written by members. Elsdon C. Smith of Evanston, Illinois, author of *The Story of Our Names*, is president. Erwin G. Gudde of Berkeley, California, author of *California Place Names*, is secretary-treasurer. Albert H. Marckwardt of the University of Michigan is a member of the sponsoring committee.

Reviews of Books

Henry Hamilton and George Rogers Clark in the American Revolution with The Unpublished Journal of Lieut. Gov. Henry Hamilton.
Edited by John D. Barnhart. (Crawfordsville, Indiana, R. E. Banta, 1951. 244 p. Bibliography, notes, and index. \$5.00.)

"The most dramatic and significant event of the American Revolution in the West was the capture of Lieutenant-Governor Henry Hamilton of Detroit by tough young George Rogers Clark at Vincennes on February 24, 1779." This, the opening sentence of John D. Barnhart's book, sets the scene for his study of the highly controversial figure, Henry Hamilton.

The author, who is professor of history at Indiana University and editor of the *Indiana Magazine of History*, devotes his first hundred-odd pages to a narration and critique of Henry Hamilton's preparations to attack George Rogers Clark, Hamilton's march to Vincennes, the subsequent capture of Hamilton, and his trip overland as an American prisoner to Williamsburg, Virginia. The remainder of the book reprints Hamilton's hitherto unpublished journal from the time the British at Detroit learned of the presence of Clark in the Illinois country, until writing materials were denied the American captive incarcerated in the Williamsburg gaol.

Hamilton has long been a controversial figure; early nineteenth century America knew him as a purchaser of scalps ripped from their countymen by Indians operating under British influence—knew Hamilton as the Hair-Buyer General. Several later writers have taken a more kindly view of Hamilton. Dr. Barnhart presents Hamilton in as favorable a light as possible without being unduly partial, recognizing that, although the governor did receive both prisoners and scalps as a "measure of the efficiency" of the Indians, he paid only for their services, not their trophies, and continually urged humane methods of warfare.

Dr. Barnhart points out that Hamilton knew the horrors of Indian warfare, having been a participant in the French and Indian War and a witness of the atrocities against the British. The author feels Hamilton's failure was at least in part a result of the failure of the British as a colonizing power at that time. For one thing, Hamilton had no control over British regulars at Detroit and was forced to depend on Indians, volunteers, and what regulars he could persuade a not too friendly army commander to detach. He refutes the idea that Hamilton engaged in his Vincennes trip to burnish a reputation allegedly tarnished by a questionable assumption of judicial power in Detroit.

Furthermore, Dr. Barnhart demonstrates clearly that Hamilton left Detroit under the authorization and with the approval of General Frederick Haldimand, governor of Quebec. The expedition left Detroit on October 7, 1778, with about seventy Indians and one hundred sixty-two whites, including many names famous in Michigan in later days: Maisonsville, Reaume, deQuindre, and Chabert. They arrived at Vincennes on December 17 and captured Fort Sackville without real opposition. Thus far, Hamilton had been an able commander—a fall march over the intervening country was no mean feat, as the Americans leaving Vincennes to attack Detroit in 1813 were to learn. However, the events of the winter resulted in Hamilton's alienating the French, failing to gain the aid of the Indians of the lower Wabash area and, as the author points out, gave Clark at Kaskaskia time to take the offensive.

Although the winter allowed time for strengthening the fort, it was still woefully inadequate. Nor was there a possibility for reinforcements as Clark struck too soon. The final blow against Hamilton was the belated knowledge of the French-American alliance, which naturally encouraged some local neutral French to espouse the American cause. Clark's victory was a foregone conclusion as soon as he appeared suddenly in the dead of winter with a superior force before an inadequate fort.

Not the least feature of the book is the description of the country recorded by Hamilton enroute from Detroit to Vincennes. The book contains no maps and has only one illustration, a portrait bust of Hamilton with his wife and daughter. The book is attractively bound and contains an excellent critical bibliography.

Michigan State College

ALEC R. GILPIN

The Papers of Sir William Johnson, Volume X. Prepared for publication by Milton W. Hamilton and Albert B. Corey. (Albany, The University of the State of New York, 1951. xiv, 998. Illustrations. \$5.00.)

Volume 10 of the *Papers of Sir William Johnson*, superintendent of Indian affairs for the Northern Department, 1756-74, has been published by the University of the State of New York. This volume has been prepared by Milton W. Hamilton, senior historian, and Albert B. Corey, state historian, of the division of archives and history of the University of the State of New York.

This volume covers the period from 1758 through 1763, and contains more than four hundred documents relating to the French and Indian War, the Pontiac Conspiracy, land speculation and claims, Indian relations, and the work of Sir William Johnson. Much new material has been made available for the historian with the appearance of the volume.

Readers of *Michigan History* will find two maps of special interest: "John Montresor's Map of Detroit in 1763," facing page 870, and the "Thomas Hutchins' Map of 1762," facing page 522. An article by William L. Jenks in *Michigan History* for July, 1926, entitled "The Hutchins' Map of Michigan," states that Henry E. Huntington paid \$1,350 for the map.

Michigan Historical Commission

HELEN EVERETT

Harry Burns Hutchins and the University of Michigan. By Shirley W. Smith. (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1951. xv, 329 p. Illustrations, notes, index.)

"Both good and agreeable—a combination not often found together," is the way Shirley Wheeler Smith describes the parents of Harry Burns Hutchins. The same may be said of this book which uses the career of Harry Burns Hutchins as a peg upon which to hang the story of the University of Michigan from the middle of the last century to recent years. As business officer of the University for nearly four decades, and as an accomplished writer, Mr. Smith is unusually qualified to write this administrative history of the institution.

There is a lot of Hutchins in this book, as there is a lot of Shirley Smith,—but the underlying theme is the University itself. Those readers who are not aware of this fact might be a little perplexed at the fact that Hutchins remains a stranger throughout the book. There is ever so much information about what he did, and there is a lot of character analysis too, but always with relation to the University.

Hutchins was a student at Ann Arbor during Henry Philip Tappan's last years as president; became instructor of history and rhetoric in James Burrill Angell's second year (1872); became Jay Professor of Law in 1884; between 1887 and 1894 he organized the Cornell law school; returned to Michigan as dean of the law school at the age of forty-eight and "was home to stay." He was acting president of the University in 1897-98 and again in 1909-10. In 1910 he accepted a limited term as president which was extended through 1919. His ten years of emeritus status was interrupted briefly in 1925 with what amounted to another acting presidency after President Marion L. Burton's illness and death. This outlines the scope of the book.

It is natural to find details which would be most interesting to the alumni group. Indeed there is a great deal of particular interest here, for Hutchins' greatest contribution as president was in creating and utilizing an organized energetic alumni body. However, anyone interested in people will find the literary portraits of regents, janitors, students, faculty members, visiting dignitaries, miscellaneous personalities, delightful as well as informative. And what administrator would fail to recognize the essence of his job in the statement "if only officials had to deal

with things the world hears about, there would be wide gaps between their periods of activity. But as the automobile, it is the little squeaks, that, neglected, cause the most wear."

Somehow, Mr. Smith has made a lively story out of what would be dead stuff in the hands of another. In all the years of writing uncounted pages of *Regents Proceedings* he never lost the touch that shows in the short story upon which the movie "It Happens Every Spring" was based. If any fault is to be found, it is that the delightful—and this is the proper word—footnotes are hidden in the back. However, this is no matter of serious concern. Small criticisms simply do not fit this book, which is in a class all by itself.

Michigan Historical Commission

VERNON BEAL

Doctors Under Three Flags. By Fannie Anderson. (Detroit, Wayne University Press, 1951. x, 185 p. Illustrations, bibliography. \$3.50.)

Disease-ridden soldiers and settlers of Fort Pontchartrain in the early decades of the eighteenth century found it difficult to secure competent medical care, for wilderness physicians were scarce in this part of New France that was to become Detroit. And, as years went on and the French flag was replaced by the British, and the British by the Stars and Stripes, frontier medical practice continued to be primitive. It is the fascinating early history of medicine and allied sciences in Detroit that Miss Anderson discusses and interprets in *Doctors Under Three Flags*.

Attention is centered primarily on emerging Detroit, although background material carries both author and reader far from the Michigan scene—to the medical colleges of the Old World; to the great University of Pennsylvania where Benjamin Rush held forth; to New England, where a system of botanic medicine that overran the West was conceived. Miss Anderson, a staff member of the Medical Library of Wayne University, organizes with efficient thoroughness her story in five closely-written chapters. The first tells of medicine at old Fort Pontchartrain, the second covers the British Regime, the third describes the period from 1783 to 1812, the fourth delineates practice during the War of 1812, and the last brings the narrative to 1837.

During these one hundred and thirty-six years Detroit developed from an isolated outpost to an important territorial community. And by the close of the 1830's, military surgeons had been replaced by civilians, some of whom were graduated from reputable institutions. Others, like the followers of Samuel Thomson, merely purchased permission to practice and hung out a shingle. Miss Anderson, although concentrating upon purely medical matters, nevertheless sketches the physician's wider contributions to society. She tells of healers who influenced legislation, who were temperance leaders, and who played an important role in Michigan's

Underground Railroad. She mentions the organization of medical societies.

Many persons are going to be deeply indebted to the author because she used original sources, because her treatment is objective, because her book opens the way for further investigation, and because her extensive bibliography will greatly aid future scholars. Unfortunately, two defects must be mentioned: the volume is an inferior example of modern book-making, and what seems more unexcusable, it lacks an index. This is the kind of a book that demands an index.

University of Minnesota

PHILIP D. JORDAN

A History of the Mechanics Educational Society of America in Detroit From Its Inception in 1933 Through 1937. By Harry Dahlheimer. (Detroit, Wayne University Press, 1951. 61 p. Appendix and bibliography. \$1.00.)

From the Wayne University Press comes this brief and concise history of the Mechanics Educational Society of America in the Detroit area. The author, Harry Dahlheimer, states that he was led to make this case study because "of the dearth of material dealing specifically with this phase of Detroit's history," and inasmuch as Detroit was a center of the modern labor movement which began in the 1930's.

Chapter headings include "Origin of the M.E.S.A.," "The 1933 Strike," "The Motor Products Debacle," and "The Kelvinator Strike." The study contains a bibliography and is well annotated.

Michigan Historical Commission

HELEN EVERETT

Detroit's 250th Anniversary: Hudson's 70th Year. (Detroit, The J. L. Hudson Company, 1951. 52 p. Illustrations.)

The J. L. Hudson's Company Participation in Detroit's 250th Anniversary Celebration, 1951, has been described and preserved in a most attractive and sensible way in this booklet. In so doing, the Hudson Company has done more than commemorate an event of short duration. The Hudson Company has, in fact, presented a brochure of considerable value.

After an introduction describing the birthday week and Hudson's participation in the ceremonies, and a word about the history of Detroit and of the Hudson Company, the booklet is devoted to twenty-six biographical sketches of those who stand out over the years as "Builders of Detroit." The selection is good, as a glance at the names will show. Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, Madame Marie Therese Cadillac, Henry Gladwin, Gabriel Richard, Augustus B. Woodward, Lewis Cass, Stevens

T. Mason, William Woodbridge, and Douglass Houghton, are selected from the earlier years of Detroit's history. Mrs. Nancy Martin, James F. Joy, George H. Hammond, Hervey C. Parke, James A. Randall, Hazen S. Pingree, Russell A. Alger, Clarence M. Burton, Thomas W. Palmer, Albert Kahn, James Couzens, Henry Ford, Walter P. Chrysler, William S. Knudsen, Emma A. Fox, Frank Cody, and Joseph L. Hudson complete the list.

One only has to scratch the surface of Michigan history to become conscious of the fact that there is a deplorable dearth of biographical material about those whose lives can tell us much of what we are. Thus, the brochure satisfies a small part of the great need that teachers throughout the state describe. By no means is the usefulness of the booklet limited to Detroit, for the subjects are all outstanding in the history of the state. Nevertheless, one wishes that the future could see a similar and larger study of "Builders of Michigan."

The master craftsman, Milo Quaife, has written the text, and the reader may find himself astonished by the amount of factual information about each figure so contrived in a graceful literary style. A small picture adds personality to the page of text that describes each character.

Those who read these articles as they appeared daily in the Detroit newspapers would find still more pleasure in the completed booklet—not only for the summary, the beautiful format, but for the picture section with appropriate explanation that completes the contents. Hudson's fourteen Woodward Avenue show windows as they were arranged in an exhibit, "Cavalcade of Fashion, 1701-1951," to mark Detroit history week, July 8, is followed by reproductions of the same windows during birthday week, July 22, which was a pageant presentation in three dimensional scale of outstanding events in Detroit history. Finally, there are photographs of the auditorium exhibit on the 12th floor of Hudson's, and two pictures of the birthday parade on July 28—"the big day!"

Truly this is an attractive booklet that has the broadest appeal. It should be in every schoolroom in the state. It might find favor in every home.

Michigan Historical Commission

VERNON BEAL

Last Civil War Veteran in Each State. By C. Stewart Peterson. (Baltimore, C. Stewart Peterson, 1951. 51 p. \$1.60.)

C. Stewart Peterson has appeared with another of his numerous historical publications—*Last Civil War Veteran in Each State*. In addition to an introduction, the mimeographed booklet of fifty-eight pages contains an account of the last surviving Civil War veteran in each state. We learn from the introduction that the Fifth Michigan Infantry suffered

the fourth greatest loss of men in the Civil War, and from the section on Michigan that the last surviving veteran in this state was Joseph Clovese of Pontiac.

Michigan Historical Commission

LEWIS BEESON

I Married a Logger. By Julie Anderson. (New York, Exposition Press, 1951, 328 p. Illustrations. \$3.50.)

Books about cutting timber, about lumber camps, about life in virgin forests are usually thought of as descriptions of what was going on back in the nineteenth century. When a book carries on its title page the subtitle *Life in Michigan's Tall Timber* it is likely to make a bookstore browser jump to the conclusion that it deals with a day that is long since dead.

But a new book with that subtitle is not concerned with the distant past. *I Married a Logger*, by Julie Anderson, is the story of things that happened the past fifteen years—the author carries the story right up to 1950.

But its every scene is laid in authentic lumber camps in Michigan. They are not dude camps but the real thing. The lumberjacks that troop through its pages are not in any sense stage figures; they are honest-to-goodness jacks, as real as the figures that people the lumber-camp novels of Stewart Edward White. As a reader of today dips into the book he experiences a shock of surprise that the life Mrs. Anderson describes is a life that is being lived in Michigan at this moment.

Mrs. Anderson's book is an honest portrayal of a life that most citizens of Michigan do not know exists, at least most of those who live in the Lower Peninsula. For the logging operations described in the volume are carried out within sound of Lake Superior. In these pages we meet characters who are ready to gamble away in a single night the money they have slaved for during a whole season. That kind of lumberjack has become a type figure; it is exciting to realize that he does not belong in lumbercamp fiction alone but that he is alive and playing his role in Michigan at this moment.

As a girl Mrs. Anderson was a Wisconsin art teacher who was more familiar with Chicago's Art Institute than she was with lumbering or even farming. The depression forced her to accept a teaching job in an Upper Peninsula school. There she met and married Howard Anderson, a young lumberman industrialist, who looked upon logging as a vocation and who lived that life for the love of it and because it was, or rather is, a well-paying business.

Her marriage forced the young art teacher to live much of her life in the lumber camps of Gogebic County under the most primitive conditions. The only woman in camp for months at a time, separated from

life of city or village by impassable snows, she not only learned to adjust herself to it but to love the life for its own sake.

The book is mainly descriptive, although there are many patches of incidental narrative when suspense makes the reader's pulse beat faster. The ways of the woodsmen are new and strange to the young wife of the logger-industrialist and she looks at them with a never-flagging interest. The readers of the book are, of course, in the same position, and the author is an ideal conductor through the camps, who helps them to see everything as she first saw it with her unspoiled eyes.

Aside from its interest as an autobiography, the book is an important addition to Michigana—if there is such a word. Logging is no longer what it once was in Michigan, and lumber camps have become rare enough so that most people know them only through the fiction of a generation or so ago. It is therefore all the more important that a contemporary woman who is actually living that life has given us a well rounded picture of this feature of the Michigan scene. The book is illustrated by sketches from life by the art teacher-author.

Kalamazoo College

ARNOLD MULDER

Memories That Linger On. By Georgia Beardsley Price.

Memories That Linger On, by Georgia Beardsley Price, is an account of the author's childhood years from her earliest recollections until she married at the age of nineteen years—1863 to 1882. From a rich and varied experience she very vividly portrays living conditions in the lumbering and mill areas of that period in central Michigan.

Mrs. Price, known as "Grandma Price" to Belding residents, now lives with her daughter, Mrs. Homer (Hazel) Olger, in Greenville. A year ago she gained fame when the Belding library displayed her series of paintings. Her book is a narrative account of the scenes of her paintings.

From the time she was ten years old and went to work at fifty cents a week until her marriage, the writer had crowded into her life more exciting episodes than customarily come in an entire lifetime. Her evaluations and descriptions of people and events are pithy and succinct.

The one picture in the book, that of the author at the age of eighteen with bustle and a long braid of hair hanging down her back, makes one wish there were more illustrations. Grammatical errors, such as, "looked after my sister and I," "took Louie and I," "she made Letha and I a dress," which might easily have been eliminated, mar somewhat the readability of the book.

Michigan Historical Commission

HELEN EVERETT

Lady Unafraid. By J. Raleigh Nelson. (Caldwell, Idaho. The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1951. 278 p. \$5.00.)

The world can never know how many Christian men and women have devoted their lives to the cause of missions either in America or abroad. The fate of most missionaries is obscurity. They serve, and they die. Recognition of their accomplishments occurs seldomly. Many missionaries deserve better treatment.

In this regard, Rebecca Jewel Francis Nelson is fortunate. Her son, J. Raleigh Nelson, professor emeritus at the University of Michigan, has written *Lady Unafraid* about the Christian mission work of his mother, who spent a year among the Ojibway Indians at L'Anse in the middle of the last century. He tells the story with sympathy and understanding.

The story follows the fortunes of "Miss Prancy"—as the Indians called her—from late summer of 1861 to a year later. At the beginning this seventeen year-old girl proves her mettle when, fearlessly, she rides out a Lake Superior storm in a frail Indian canoe. Her three Indian paddlemen hide the fact that they speak English in order to test her. Her fortitude earns for her the Indian name, *Swangideed Wayquay*, or *Lady Unafraid*.

Personable, intelligent, adaptable, and sincere, Miss Francis makes friends with the Indians, endears herself to many, is inducted into the tribe, teaches her mission school, and adapts herself to this new way of life. When in 1862 she returns to civilization, she leaves L'Anse with heavy heart.

Lady Unafraid is neither a study of character nor a plotted adventure story. The author set out to present a series of incidents around his mother's experiences as a missionary and, at the same time, to give the reader an intimate view of Indian culture and people as they touched her life. He has succeeded in his aims.

Miss Francis's religious faith, her recoiling from the filth of some of the Indians, her zeal with her school, and her friendship with Jean Crebassa, the half-breed interpreter, reveal the author's ability to handle incidents.

When Light of the Morning, the chief's son, is slain, the reader sees something of the burial customs of the Indians as well as some of their intertribal negotiations in a tense situation. The initiation of Miss Francis into the tribe is done with vividness. The scene centering on the "ghost flowers" shows the superstitions of the Indians. The book is filled with such details as indicate not only careful research but also a knack for presenting these facts to advantage.

Lady Unafraid, while not inspired writing, is honest and sincere. The book will interest many intelligent readers who appreciate America's cultural background and who, simultaneously, do not find their pleasure derived from only those books emphasizing adventures of love and lovers.

Central Michigan College

John C. Hepler

The Citadel of the Lakes. By Myron David Orr. (New York, Dodd, Mead & Company, 1952. 287 p. \$3.00.)

Here is a well-written historical novel. The action takes place on one of the best known islands in all North America, Mackinac Island, at a time when national loyalty and personal fortune brought suspense to those living there. Both the time and the place have been carefully chosen by the author to lend charm and interest to the varied tastes of many readers.

The fortunes of the War of 1812 had filled the minds of the people living on the island with restless uncertainty as to the future of the area and their own personal affairs. As the strength of the British power quickly crumbled in the lower lakes region, the future of the upper lakes and the profitable fur trade again centered in the little fort on Mackinac Island.

Marie Pasquelle, a charming, young French girl, is the author's leading character. Throughout the story she is ever searching for the men who killed her father, because he refused to submit to the ruthless methods of the Astor Fur Company. Marie's misfortunes, as well as her charms, are used by spies and counter spies to help them advance their causes. Intrigue follows intrigue as English and Americans vie with each other for the possession of the fort and the lucrative fur trade.

Local color is carefully developed by the author's use of French in the text. Indian unrest adds to the local setting, as picturesque French voyageurs carousing in the local tavern, where Marie works, mix with officers and soldiers from the English garrison stationed at the fort and spies sent into the area by the Americans.

Because there has been so little written about Mackinac Island and the straits area during the early days of Michigan's history, the reader greets with a renewed interest the military actions in the area which have been carefully woven into the romantic story by the author.

Dearborn Junior College

FERRIS E. LEWIS

Contributors

Beginning when she was seven years old, Edith Judkins Knaul, the daughter of Doctor William Judkins and Nellie Anderson Judkins, spent twenty continuous summer seasons at Petoskey. Born and educated in Cincinnati, Ohio, she writes that that town was to her the seat of learning and conventions whereas the northwestern part of Lower Michigan and particularly Petoskey was her spiritual and inspirational home. For many years she has been a suburban newspaper columnist.

George S. May was a member of the teaching staff at Allegheny College, Meadville, Pennsylvania, from 1948 to 1950. Since that time he has been at the University of Michigan doing work toward doctorate degree.

Dr. Georges J. Joyaux became professor of French at Michigan State College in 1947. Born at Nice, France, he received his undergraduate education in France. He earned his doctorate at Michigan State College in 1951, his thesis being entitled "French Thought in American Magazines 1800-1848." His field of interest is Franco-American relations.

Temple Lewis, a native Detroiter, has had undergraduate work at the University of Illinois and Wayne University. For the past two years he has been attending Michigan State College and working part-time at the Michigan Historical Commission, which since the fire in the State Office Building is located on the college campus. His field of interest is history and his article resulted from his work with records in the custody of the commission.

Robert F. Bauman became curator of the Dearborn Historical Museum March 1, 1951. He received his education at the University of Toledo where his thesis for the degree of master of arts was "The Migration of the Maumee Valley Ottawa Indians to Walpole Island." His material for this article was almost entirely obtained from unpublished manuscripts, testimonials, and field work among the Indians. It was published in the *Northwest Ohio Quarterly*. Other of his articles published by this quarterly include: "Young Jim, the Ottawa's Last Hope," "The Last Ottawa," and "Ohio to Oklahoma."

Adrian Jaffe received the degree of master of arts from the University of Michigan and the philosophy degree from New York University. He came to Michigan State College in 1946 and is assistant professor of English. In 1951 the Michigan State College press published his book *The Bibliography of French Literature in American Magazines in the Eighteenth Century*.

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The Historical Society of Michigan is an organization maintained and managed by Michigan citizens who are interested in the history of their state. It includes teachers, business men, professional people, and others who write history, study history, or just enjoy reading history. Its purpose is to encourage historical research and publication and to foster local historical societies throughout the state. Membership dues are \$3.00 per year. *Michigan History* is sent to each member.

The Michigan Historical Commission is an official state body, consisting of six members appointed by the Governor. It was first established by an act of the legislature in 1913. The Commission is custodian of the state's archives; it compiles, edits, and publishes Michigan materials; and seeks to cultivate, through the Historical Society of Michigan and other groups, a continuing interest in the history of Michigan from the early times to the present.

Michigan History is a quarterly journal containing articles by qualified writers on Michigan subjects, reviews of books related to Michigan and its past, and news of historical activities in the state. Contributions are invited. Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing 13, Michigan.

The Commission maintains at Lansing the Michigan Historical Museum, a rich storehouse of artifacts and documents related to the history of the state.

Among the activities of the Commission and the Society are the following: an annual meeting is held each year in October, at which tours and talks on Michiganiana are enjoyed; books and pamphlets are published from time to time; a conference on the teaching of Michigan materials is held annually; historical celebrations are encouraged in various parts of the state; a program of marking historical places is sponsored; guidance is provided to local governmental and state agencies on the destruction of useless records and the preservation of records having historical value.